Libertarian Review

July-August 1976—Vol.V, No.4

THE STATE

As We Go Marching By John T. Flynn
America's Emerging Fascist Economy By Charlotte Twight
Toward a Planned Society By Otis L. Graham, Jr.

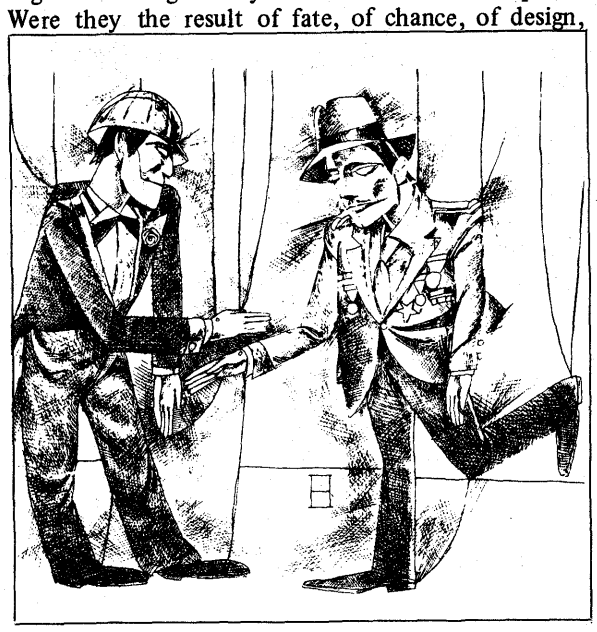
The dreams of economic planning (often euphemistically called "rationalization") and of social reconstruction are seldom far removed from the forefront of the imagination of numerous American businessmen, intellectuals, politicians, and other social engineers. A recent spate of planning proposals have been pushed center stage in the current ideological debate, and although this is not the place to consider the merits of the current proposals, it is important that we try to place them in their proper historical perspective.

Everyone recognizes that there has been a dramatic change in the nature of the American economy during this century. Almost everyone recognizes that the system that has emerged is not that of the free market. The economics and political science textbooks usually call it a "mixed economy." whatever that might mean. Clearly we must move towards a more meaningful definition, but definitions are possible only after considerable analysis and interpretation. The books under consideration in this review help us to do just that.

Attorney Charlotte Twight faces the problem of definition head on. She looks around for a socioeconomic structure similar to that of the United States, and she finds such a fully developed system (America's being only incipient) in the corportivist states of Italy and Germany in the 1920s and 1930s, viz., fascism. She accepts E.B. Ashton's definition of fascism as "capitalist collectivism": the forms of capitalism (nominal private property, contracts, and markets) but the substance of State control, both direct and indirect.

Twight cites the constitutional basis for the legality of American fascism (the interstate commerce clause, and the preemptive doctrine), and she then goes on to catalog numerous economic interventions, the sum total of which she demonstrates add up to, at the very least, an emergent system of economic fascism. She perceptively sees that control over the economy's money and credit is the necessary and most important command post. She examines the economic consequences of interventions such as the following: licensing, regulation, and rate making; product control; increasing the power of the executive branch; control over labor and agriculture; import-export and foreign exchange controls; and more.

As useful as the Twight book is—and it is quite useful as far as it goes—I find it almost devoid of social and political context. There is no real sense either of historical perspective or of historical circumstance. There is nothing to give us even the slightest inkling of why the interventions took place. Were they the result of fate, of chance, of design,



of perceived need, or of actual need to rationalize dislocations caused by previous interventions? The reader will find no answer here.

Twight, an obvious devotee of the free market, views the emergent controlled economy with sadness. Otis Graham, a disciple of America's foremost exponent of planning, Rexford Tugwell, welcomes the advance of planning. Whereas Twight is strong on economic libertarianism and weak on historical context, Graham is, at the very least, naive on economic theory, but excellent at putting the history of American intervention and planning in historical perspective.

Graham's book is a very important contribution to twentieth century American historiography. He traces the path—an inexorable path as he sees it—of planning from the midst of World War I to the present. The continuity that he uncovers is both an eye-opener and cause for alarm.

Beginning with the War Industries Board during WWI, both the vision and practice of central control and management of the economy caught the imagination of numerous businessmen and intellectuals. The desire for centralized planning of the economy has waxed and waned in business and academic circles during the years since, but there has been a continuity of the planning vision that has remained strong with pivotal intellectuals and business and political decision-makers.

Graham traces the history of American planning from the WIB to the New Deal, where he finds the various experiments in planning—Twight would, I think, more correctly call them experiments in, or "flirtations with," fascism—such as the NRA, AAA, WPA, RFC, et cetera, to be tentative steps in the right direction. Particularly intriguing is Graham's insight concerning the central importance throughout the New Deal of the Natural Resources Planning Bureau. Control over the use of resources, perhaps second only to control of the economy's supply of money and credit, is the key to "successful" planning. Twight's excellent chapter on control of America's agriculture is particularly relevant on this point.

After the fight over the Employment Act of 1946, during which the tough planning teeth were pulled from the bill, conscious efforts at comprehensive planning lapsed. Graham contends that, with few exceptions, central planning lay dormant until LBJ introduced the planning, programing, and budgeting system in the Bureau of the Budget. (Graham refuses to consider macro fiscal and monetary manipulations to be planning in any proper sense of the term.)

The next great leap forward towards planning, a leap that is portrayed in one of the most revealing parts of Graham's book, takes place during the first administration of the Nixon regime. The role in the Nixon schemes of unreconstructed planner Daniel P. Moynihan is particularly interesting. Both Twight and Graham rightly see Nixon's imposition of peacetime price controls as an important precedent that is sure to have widespread ramifications for future planners.

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What's in Libertarian Review This Month

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A Word to Our Readers

•A serious typographical error crept into Neil McCaffrey's May-June installment of "Jazz: The Golden Age." Speaking of Glenn Miller, the copy as printed read: "He was a Force; and and, I fear, for the better." It should have read: ". . . and not, I fear, for the better." Our apologies to Mr. McCaffrey and to our readers.

•With this issue, Steven Utley joins *Libertarian Review* as a regular columnist (see page 15). Steven will be keeping his eye (ear?) on the rock-music scene for us. A freelance writer and reviewer, Steven is a rising star in the science fiction firmament. He has reviewed rock for the newspapers, and his first contribution to *LR* ("Roger McGuinn and Band") appeared last December. Steven lives in Austin, Texas, with his dog, Quilla June.

•

having a Summer Special on odds 'n ends left over from the LR Book Service:

American Liberalism and World Politics (2 volumes) by James J. Martin. This is *the* definitive study of pre-World War II American foreign policy. Regular price: $22.50. **Summer Special: only $15.**

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Send your order (be sure to enclose $.75 to cover postage and handling) directly to Laissez Faire Books Dept. 576, 206 Mercer Street, New York, NY 10012.

•*LR* readers who want to get in on the ground floor of the Third Industrial Revolution (see page 3) should join/support one or all of the following organizations:

National Space Institute, 1911 North Fort Myer Drive, Suite 408, Arlington, VA 20009. NSI is headed by Dr. Wernher von Braun and works to promote public understanding of and support for space activities. Members receive an interesting monthly newsletter and other publications. Annual dues are $15 (college age and older) and $9 (high school age and younger). Life membership is $100. Dues, memberships, and contributions are *tax deductible.*

Earth/Space, Inc., 2319 Sierra, Palo Alto, CA 94303. Earth/Space is "dedicated to free space enterprise," and its monthly newsletter (one year, $5; five years, $20) contains much interesting information.

L5 Society, 1620 North Park, Tucson, AZ 85719. L5 is working to promote the development of space colonies of the sort envisioned by Princeton's Professor Gerard K. O'Neill. Members receive a newsletter. Annual dues are $20.

•**Now available from Audio-Forum** are cassette tape recordings of the recent Paul Harris Tax Haven Seminar. Harris is one of the most respected authorities on tax havens. On five cassettes, he talks about tax havens, what they are, how they function, why they are valuable, and provides a thorough evaluation of various tax havens. Order Tapes 441-445 (5½ hours) for $63.75 directly from Audio-Forum, 901 N. Washington St., Alexandria, VA 22314.

•**Classical music lovers:** We are offering at our cost our remaining stock of classical recordings. Check out the list below, we are sure you'll find something you will like—and the price is right! (As usual, please include $.75 for postage and handling and mail payment to LR, 901 N. Washington St., Alexandria, VA 22314.)

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Scriabin, SYMPHONY NO. 3/$3.00
Scriabin, SYMPHONIES NO. 4 & 5/$3.65
Strauss, FOUR LAST SONGS/$3.65

•**Things to Come:** The September-October *Essay Review features R. Bretnor* on gun control. In the same issue: James J. Martin on *'Twas a Famous Victory* and *An American First: John T. Flynn and the America First Committee,* and Bruce Bartlett doing in Galbraith's *Money: Whence It Came, Where It Went.* Also in the works: Larry Niven on *The Next Ten Thousand Years,* Rob Masters on Ardrey's *Hunting Hypothesis,* Peter Breggin presiding over *The Death of Psychiatry,* Susan Love Brown reviewing *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to Equality, Sexual Life Between Blacks and Whites,* and *Fear of Flying,* Roy Childs reacting to Robbins' *Answer to Ayn Rand,* Bill Danks thinking about *Intelligence Can Be Taught,* John Hospers contemplating Blanshard's *Reason and Belief,* Bill McIlhany on *Thinking About Crime* and *Punishing Criminals,* and much, much more to enlighten, outrage, and delight you.■

Contributors
IN THIS ISSUE

Reginald Bretnor has attended about a dozen private and public schools and colleges—without getting a degree. He has written fiction for *Harper's, Esquire,* and the science fiction magazines, and articles for the *Encyclopedia Britannica.* His latest book (as editor) is *The Craft of Science Fiction,* forthcoming from Harper & Row. **Susan Love Brown** is on the staff of the Campus Studies Institute and is Vice-Chairwoman of the California Libertarian Party. **David Brudnoy** is a syndicated columnist, TV and radio personality, and freelance. He writes on film and books for various journals. **William Danks** is a PhD candidate in political science at the University of Hawaii and director of the university's Human Rights Project. **James Dale Davidson** is Executive Director of the National Taxpayers Union. **Myra Friedman** is the author of *Buried Alive: The Biography of Janis Joplin,* which was a National Book Award nominee in 1974. **Walter E. Grinder** is an *LR* associate editor and executive director of the Center for Libertarian Studies. **Regina Hugo** has held myriad jobs, ranging from chicken farming to editing. She lives in Seattle, where she is working on a novel. **Linus Pauling,** twice a Nobel laureate, is Chairman of the Linus Pauling Institute of Science and Medicine. **Jerry Pournelle,** PhD, is science editor of *Galaxy* magazine and a leading science fiction writer. His "A Step Farther Out," a column about the frontiers of science, appears monthly in *Galaxy. Inferno,* Jerry's most recent novel (with Larry Niven), is just out from Pocket Books. **Jeff Riggenbach** is book critic for the Los Angeles all-news station KFWB. **Steven Utley** is a freelance writer and reviewer. His fiction has appeared in *Galaxy* and other magazines. **Sheldon Wasserman** writes a money and gold column for *The Investing Professional.* His review of *Free Market Economics* is reprinted with permission from the *Laissez Faire Books Catalog & Review.*■

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Libertarian Review is published bimonthly by Libertarian Review, Inc., editorial offices at 901 N. Washington St., Alexandria, VA 22314.

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SUBSCRIPTIONS: 12 issues $8. ADDRESS CHANGE: Write new address, city, state and zip code on plain sheet of paper. Attach mailing label from recent issue of *LR,* and send to Circulation Dept., *Libertarian Review,* 6737 Annapolis Rd., P.O. Box 2599, Landover Hills, Md. 20784.

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SCIENCE & SURVIVAL

The Third Industrial Revolution

By G. Harry Stine

I have never seen a satisfactory study of the influence of wealth on human freedom. On the one hand, no republic has long remained both wealthy and a republic; on the other, whatever the political freedoms, without some measure of material wealth a people's real choices are likely to be highly limited.

The First Industrial Revolution is conventionally dated from the Darby coke oven and the Newcomen and Watt steam engines, beginning somewhere in the eighteenth century and peaking in Europe and America in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. By introducting new forms of energy to replace human and animal muscle-power, the First Industrial Revolution made it possible for large masses to have leisure—and therefore real freedom. Prior to that the effort merely to produce enough to eat absorbed too much effort. One might be "free" in the legal sense, but that translated, for most men, into command over very few hours of their lives.

The Second Industrial Revolution (SIR) began early in this century and is not yet complete. It is not as clearly definable as the first, but is generally characterized by "automation," "robotic control," and "feedback." The vacuum tube and the mechanical analogue were tools of the SIR, but it can be argued that without the transistor and the integrated circuit the SIR's effects would not have been so profound as they are.

> "Out there it's raining soup, and Stine is telling us to grab a bowl."

No matter. Between them, the two industrial revolutions have thoroughly and completely transformed both individuals and societies. Prior to the two revolutions it would not have been possible even to contemplate a world in which large masses would be free to: communicate across continents; travel intercontinental distances in hours; dispose of energy equivalent to a dozen slaves and herds of horses; retain teeth past age 40; read at night in good light; keep tropical fish; publish fanzines and newsletters; get fat; go backpacking; eat fresh vegetables in midwinter; taste sweets until tired of them; get drunk and stay that way; avoid at least some of the medical consequences of free love; have a large enough money income to attract the attention of the Internal Revenue Service; read hundreds of books; regularly read dozens of magazines.

The two revolutions have not been without negative consequences. First, they have produced pollution, and have brought us closer to exhausting certain of Earth's resources. Second, they have made it possible for governments to take a thoroughgoing interest in what each of us does. Without great wealth the State could not afford much in the way of *agentrie*. It could not maintain dossiers, pay informants, keep an army of accountants and investigators and social workers and alienists and lawyers, lawyers, lawyers.

Comes now the Third Industrial Revolution, which just may let us keep the benefits of the first two while providing us with a mechanism of escape from some of their more unpleasant side effects. This is the major premise of G. Harry Stine's important book.

The Third Industrial Revolution (the term is original with Stine) will come about when manufacturing operations are routinely carried out in space. According to Stine, "It is going to change the face of Planet Earth. It will drastically alter our life-styles. It will affect nearly every person on Earth. It holds the promise of improving the quality of life and of increasing the standard of living of those who wish to participate.

"During this revolution we will begin to transform Planet Earth into a garden planet."

This may seem a tall order. Stine sets out to demonstrate that it's not only possible, but inevitable.

He succeeds when discussing physics and technology. In a series of highly readable essays—part of this book was previously published as a set of popular articles in *Analog Science Fiction/Science Fact*—Stine shows what we may accomplish in space. He describes industrial processes impossible here on Earth. If you happen to know that Stine is not only an engineer, but also a "gadgeteer"—one of those chaps who just can't help trying to turn research drawings into cone clutches, slip joints, turned brass fittings, transistors, and op-amps—you'll have an even greater appreciation of the book.

Stine *itches* to get out there and start work.

And what a work it could be! O'Neill colonies on which upwards of 50,000 people could live, and which could be started before the end of this century; electronic launch systems to hurl products of lunar mines into orbit; solar furnaces, thin films, biological products; you name it, and out there we can do it.

A single asteroid contains more than enough metal to supply the world for a year and more. There are hundreds of thousands of asteroids; and, yes, we have the technology to move them about the Solar System. We have the technology to spin up mylar films, silver them over, and use the resulting mirror as a source of solar energy for our space refinery.

Moreover, Stine argues, the resulting wealth and increased living space will inevitably give more freedom to those who want it.

Finally, he argues, the Third Industrial Revolution is truly inevitable. "The first billionaire space moguls are now alive." The only real question is who will become fabulously wealthy by sparking off the TIR, and who will merely benefit.

Harry Stine believes that when "it's steam engine time, steam engines will be built." I don't. At the moment Earth certainly has both the technology and spare resources to begin space operations; and Stine shows convincingly that once started on any scale at all, space exploitation will be so profitable that it cannot be stopped. All very well: but the required investments are enormous, and there are counter-pressures.

There's the strong movement for zero-growth, which can strangle the Third Industrial Revolution in its cradle. There are political pressures for taxes to make it impossible for anything but a government to undertake space exploitation, and stronger ones for wasting those taxes on salaries for graduates of social science departments and lawyers, lawyers, lawyers. . .

(Continued on page 18)

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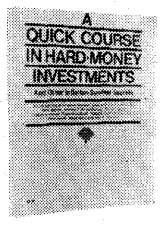

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The Decline

Where Is Our Intellectual Middle Class?

By Reginald Bretnor

In order to discuss this very important question sensibly and answer it, we must first define what we mean by an "intellectual" middle class. We have become so used to thinking of the middle class in economic terms, and the shifting patterns of the economy have made these terms so culturally meaningless, that most of us seem to have forgotten that at one time, not too many years ago, the words "middle class" enjoyed a rather richer connotation.

When I speak of an "intellectual middle class" here, I am referring to a spectrum of the citizenry basically self-supporting, self-reliant, intellectually alert and independent, and self-determined where their major life decisions are concerned. These are people who belong neither to the manipulated masses nor among those mandarin illuminati whose pretensions to superior wisdom are so largely responsible for the failure of our educational systems to produce much of anything except narrowly trained specialists and more mandarins.

They are people interested enough in the world and its problems to have informed themselves, one way or another, regarding its history and geography, and interested enough in men and our destiny at least to have enquired into the nature and causes of human events. They are people secure enough in their own cultural backgrounds to know how to live their lives and raise their children without "expert" guidance, and solidly enough grounded in their own moralities to be able to make reasonably sound judgments regarding the morality of the men they choose to represent them and of the public policies they wish pursued.

Obviously, membership in such a class need not be synonymous with what we think of as middle class affluence, though at one time the two did tend to go together. However, even in Victorian days many poor people were included—poor teachers, poor librarians and booksellers, intellectually active but impecunious craftsmen and farmers, poverty stricken writers and artists, impoverished clergymen, and (!) even poor doctors. These people helped to form an intellectual middle class that was a cultural, political, and economic mainstay of American life—a class that today has ceased to exist as a major influence. No doubt many individuals still belong to it, but collectively they have little or no clout.

They have been effectively neutralized by the techniques of mass media manipulation, by increasing concentration in the news-entertainment industries (so that fewer and fewer people are in a position to influence more and more), and by the mandarinization of academic life and the stultifying over-specialization of the professions and useful sciences. Worse still, a great many people who should belong to such a class have, through the operation of those same influences, remained intellectual proletarians.

The evidence for the previous existence and influence of the intellectual middle class is clear and uncontrovertible. From the time of the Civil War until Franklin Roosevelt's ascension to the throne, for instance, a period when our population was far smaller and our statistical literacy far lower than today, the country always managed to support twenty to thirty serious national reviews, designed to be read by thinking men and women interested in the affairs of the nation and the world, in the adventure of finding out the past and creating the future, in art and literature and scientific progress. How many of their names come instantly to mind? The old *Harper's* and *Atlantic Monthly, Scribner's,* the *North American Review,* the *Bookman,* the *Dial, Current History,* the *American Mercury,* to mention a few only. They did not hesitate to print discursive essays appealing *only* to the intellect; they were designed solely for the reader—their advertisers were only allowed to tag along; they needed neither the sex pitch nor raw sensationalism nor tricky eye-catchers on a third-grade level to attract and hold their readers' interest.

Of course, they were not perfect. Nevertheless, their awareness of the problems of their time, considered now, is often astonishing; and this was true, not only of the national reviews, but of many magazines whose scope was regional, like the Far West's *Overland Monthly* and the original *Sunset,* for example. I have a dozen copies of the *Land of Sunshine,* now generally forgotten, published in Los Angeles in the late '90s and early 1900s. Picking one at random, the issue of May 1900, we find a copiously illustrated article on "Painting the First Americans, E.A. Burbank's Indian Portraits," and another entitled "The Story of Cyrus Hawk," about the plight of Sioux Indians on the reservation. Concern for the Indian and his culture is one of the magazine's continuing themes; so is an active interest in Mexican history and customs; so too is an awareness of the natural beauties and resources of the West, and the necessity for preserving them. (Unhappily for the liberal mythology, neither the Indian nor the Mexican nor conservation really were discovered by followers of Professor Marcuse or Timothy Leary.)

> "...not too many years ago, the words 'middle class' enjoyed a rather richer connotation."

All that is necessary to get a good overall picture of the reading material of Intellectual Middle Class America is to go to a good library and get out a few bound volumes of the national reviews of the period. Then compare them with what's left—and what *is* left? *Harper's* and the *Atlantic,* both very trendy and self-consciously mandarinish in their approaches, each pretty much a Madison Avenue manufacture. If you can tell the text from the advertisements, you're doing well. Yes, we have the *New Yorker,* so ingrown that its devoted readers hardly seem to exist in the same world as the rest of us, and the latest incarnations of the *Saturday Review,* and all the academic quarterlies, read only by academics and by happenstance passersby in college libraries.

But to find a general magazine still designed for the reader who enjoys reading, who is interested in many facets of the world past and present, and who wants no advertising interference with his reading—well, where do we turn? We write to Edinburgh and subscribe to *Blackwood's Magazine.*

Nearly thirty years ago, Clifton Fadiman called attention to the disappearance of the reviews in an extremely perceptive article, "The Decline of Attention" (*Saturday Review,* 6 August 1949), and he compared them to the mass circulation "slicks," whose intent, he observed, was "to *attract* the attention without actually *engaging* it; to entertain rather than challenge; or, to use the editors' quite legitimate phrase, to be 'readable'—that is, to present material which can be read easily and forgotten quickly."

The great reviews were then already gone, but the Big Slicks—the literature of what we can (perhaps a bit unfairly) call the Intellectual Lower Middle Class—were going strong: the *Saturday Evening Post, Collier's, American, Liberty,* and all the rest, including the major women's magazines. Dig into the files. Stack these up against their existing counterparts today. They seem like intellectual giants by comparison.

The general slicks have disappeared (though the *Post* has been more or less revived, largely as a nostalgia piece). But some of the women's magainzes are still going under their old names with new and very different slants. It used to be that idiot hero-worship (the adoration of show-biz VIPs and similar "celebrities") was pretty much confined to retarded females in junior high schools and in the waiting rooms of beauty shops. Today we find it a main stock in trade, not only of the sexational supermarket tabloids, but even of the once-sensible, once-respectable women's magazines. Is the average American housewife or working girl, today so emotionally and sexually deprived that she has to live, vicariously, the presumably exciting life-in-bed of the Kennedy tribe—Jackie and Teddy and now JFK, and by association the late Ari and his offspring, and of Liz and Burton, and of half a hundred dismal rock stars? Obviously, the answer must be *yes.* Take a good look into the magazines on your local newsstand.

If we are indeed as "liberated" as our liberal left leadership would have us believe, why do so many of us now need such wretched surrogates?

Again, if we are indeed so much better educated and informed than our predecessors, why do we require such a multitude of "experts"—officially sanctified experts with assorted doctorates, and publicly acclaimed experts-through-notoriety, running the gamut from semiresponsible columnists to toally irresponsible celebrities-of-the-moment—to tell us how to run our lives? Why is it almost universally assumed by the editors of today's mass-circulation magazines that their readers are unhappy with their own lives and themselves, that they are thoroughly confused about how to live and act, that they are utterly incapable of deciding their own futures without guidance? Why, on a popular and readily available level, is there nothing else?

The news magazines, *Time* and *Newsweek* and *U.S. News & World Report* do not fill the gap; too frequently, instead of discussing they assert; they are essentially propaganda organs, digesting the news and regurgitating it as approved "facts." *Fortune* and its kindred business magazines have a distinctly limited perspective because of their economic orientation.

Once more, regard your local newsstand. Pretend you're a Martian. What would you deduce from what you see? Very simply, that the American reading public's interests are focussed either on the crotch or on their other toys: hot rods and hair-dos and tropical fish and other people's sex lives, on dogs and cats and horses, treasure hunting and Avon bottles and sorcery-made-easy—you name it. The focus of a vast majority of magazines is limited to one special interest or one limited perspective; and there really would be nothing wrong with this if it were not *just about all there is.*

> "To put it brutally, we have been intellectually proletarianized."

The argument has often been proposed that television has made anything more comprehensive or more profound unnecessary because, allegedy, the tube shows the whole world to its viewers, keeping them informed as no one has ever been before. Unfortunately, a few hour of tube-watching can shatter the argument completely. The tube is just more of the same, except that usually it is on an even lower level.

Nor will the other argument—that the publication of serious books has not suffered—hold water. Most really serious books are bought by libraries of one sort or another and by the remnants of what used to be our intellectual middle class, *not* by the people who need them most; and the literary culture of a country cannot flourish only in institutionalized libraries, only on campuses, only through the mass-merchandising of best-sellers. It requires the freely exercised choice of innumerable intelligent and self-confident individuals; it needs the private libraries they build up, the booksellers they patronize, the publishers—and most especially the small publishers—whom they can keep alive. Here we find a decline paralleling that of the intellectual middle class magazines. How many professional and even academic homes does one find today containing no books at all? How many small publishers—and I refer to small *general* publishers, not to narrowly specialized houses—can stay in business? How many new and used book shops are there in *your* community? Consider this: there were more bookstores in California in 1855 than there are today.

To put it brutally, we have been intellectually proletarianized. Most of us have had our confidence in our taste and in the principles by which we live thoroughly shattered by our professional taste-and-trend makers. There is no longer a decided difference between the literary taste, the musical taste, the general cultural levels, or the aspirations of the high-grade (or even low-grade) moron and of most highly capable, high-IQ professional men and women. Except for relatively few individuals, isolated or living in even fewer cultural islands, they watch the same TV programs, read the same immediate-interest publications, drool over pretty much the same porn, and let the same advertising and PR men, and the same academic mandarins, decide their "lifestyles" and their destinies.

And yours and mine. ■

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THE RUSSIAN MENACE: CHILD OF F.D.R.

World War II was presented to the American people as a holy war. Unconditional surrender was said to be necessary for lasting peace. Eisenhower wrote of a "crusade" in Europe.

The war was won. Germany was left prostrate, and the Bomb incinerated what was left of Japanese resistance. But as Churchill wrote: ". . . after all the exertions and sacrifices of hundreds of millions of people and of the victories of the Righteous Cause, we still have not found Peace or Security, and . . . we lie in the grip of even worse perils than those we have surmounted."

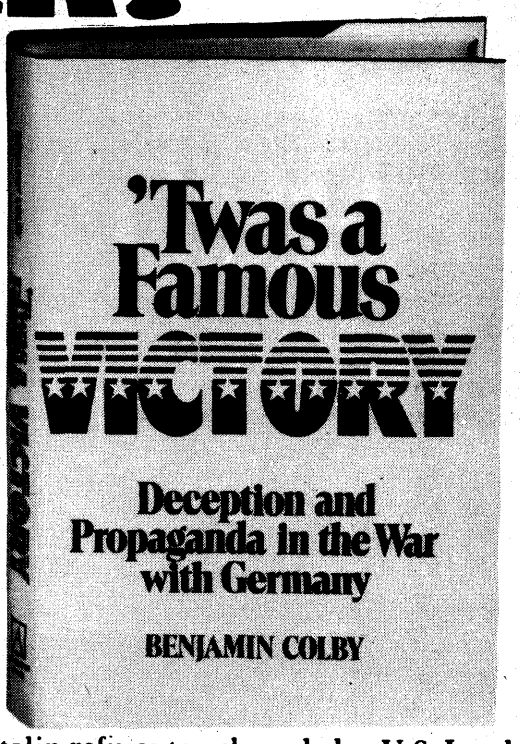
What went wrong? Benjamin Colby takes a bold look at the Righteous Cause and arrives at disturbing answers. Maintaining popular support throughout World War II involved two necessities, says Mr. Colby: trust in Russia and hatred of Germany. To engender trust in Russia, "the Soviet territorial objectives and political intentions had to be concealed. This was the central and all-pervading deception during the period of actual war. It was accompanied by an unremitting effort to whitewash the Soviet record and create a new Soviet image."

The other necessity was met more easily; even before 1939 Hitler's regime had become odious. But U.S. government propaganda used the German people for its target, not just the Nazi regime, and thus justified Allied atrocities like the mass bombing of civilians. Colby presents shocking evidence that the Allies initiated the bombing of civilians as strategic policy; worse, that Churchill purposely goaded Hitler into bombing London. American cities remained intact throughout the war, says Colby, "but whether the people themselves escaped psychologically unscathed is a disturbing question. Wrapped in the belief of its own righteousness and the myth that Germany started the bombing of cities, America has appeared to have few qualms about the wholesale air war conducted against German civilian populations."

Mr. Colby unfolds the propaganda prelude to war . . . the secret war in the Atlantic . . . the great Atlantic Charter deception . . . the tight lid on Russian war aims . . . the coverups of Soviet atrocities . . . the secrecy surrounding Teheran . . . the lies about Yalta. He reveals the role of Hollywood and the Writers War Board in creating hatred of Germans and enthusiasm for our alliance with Communists.

The deceptions began, the author shows, when the American people were told that their survival—or at least England's—depended on U.S. entry into the war. He marshals impressive evidence, however, that "whatever Hitler's ambitions, conquering Britain was not one of them, much less attacking the United States. That the nation could be brought to war by belief in such an imaginary peril is testimony of the war-making powers of the President, who can not only create propaganda for war but, more important, create situations which make war inevitable."

'TWAS A FAMOUS VICTORY is revisionism that raises questions long overdue. Explosive in its implications, it packs sobering lessons for a new generation of Americans —and for some of their parents.



THE FALSEHOODS EMPLOYED TO WIN THE WAR: THEY LOST THE PEACE

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Literature IN REVIEW

Introduction to Imaginative Literature

By Jeff Riggenbach

PART IV: SO-CALLED CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

Does my title betray a defensive attitude, perhaps even a bit of ill temper? It should. For the more extensive my own investigations of so-called children's literature becomes, the more I feel a kind of intellectual outrage at those who have promoted such a concept. It is one which, I am convinced, has denied many a serious writer the adult audience he deserved and has denied uncounted serious readers the pleasure those writers' works might have afforded them. I must count myself among the latter number, by the way—among those who believed some books to be "for children" and so avoided reading those books themselves. And the pleasures I have found since I began reading "children's literature" in exactly the same way and for exactly the same reasons I have always read "literature"—those pleasures have served too often to remind me of what pleasures I had denied myself in earlier times.

> "...novelists of genius are denied recognition because their characters are animals."

Succinctly put, there are at least three different sorts of things printed up and sold as children's literature: there are stories (and I'm going to limit myself to fiction in this discussion, on the grounds, among others, that there is very little true poetry for children—just a lot of narrative verse) whose characters are animals, natural or mythological, or whose worlds are Faery-like, or whose events are magical or some of the above or all of the above; there are stories put together by professional educators, psychologists, and sociologists according to their (usually statistical) assessment of how children respond to various pedagogical stimuli and according to their opinions as to what values ought to be thereby inculcated in children (and these works—the bulk of the fiction offered to small children in State schools—are no more literature than political cartoons are fine art); and there are works of literary art that present the feeling-world of a child—a world less complex than an adult's but no less meaningful and no less beautiful, because it is produced by a mind fully as fertile in invention and fully as facile in symbolic transformation as any adult's.

I hope it is obvious that stories about animals and fairyland and magic aren't necessarily or even usually children's stories. Does anyone seriously believe that *Bambi* or Hope Mirlees' *Lud-in-the-Mist?* (These last two are only recently out of print in inexpensive paperback editions from Ballantine Books, and are well worth reading). Still, novelists of genius are denied recognition because their characters are animals. And I will break my own rule about translations to mention one such unfortunate case, that of the German writer Felix Salten and his novel, *Bambi.* Thanks in large part to Walt Disney, this fine work has been paraded before a large segment of the public in adulterated and incompetently bastardized form. *Bambi* is not a faintly nauseating gambol among fawns and grasses; it is an existentialist fable—a fable of the region in which the existentialist vision is fading into the Byronic conception of the world as hard, cruel and nobly, dramatically doomed. Salten is writing about the world also inhabited by Jack London and Ayn Rand (in her gloomier works, like *We the Living*). And he is writing about it in a terse, clear, cleanly poetic prose not unlike Hemingway's—this is true both in Whittaker Chambers' fine translation and (based on my halting perusal of the original) in the German as well. But he is writing about animals, and this has somehow consigned his work to the children's room of the library. Of course, children do tend to like stories about animals, fairyland, and magic; the reason, I think, is that such stories are frequently simple and thus more comprehensible to children than the average tale. This is not to say, however, that they are deficient in either beauty or meaning for adult readers.

> "The chief victim in our own language of the stories-about-animals-are-stories-for-children school of criticism is Kenneth Grahame."

While I am at the business of breaking my taboo against translations, I want to mention the work of Antoine de St. Exupery and Hans Christian Andersen. The former's best known work, *The Little Prince* (Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, $1.25, paperback), is a haunting, sad, exquisite formulation of the child's conception of adult character types and the child's often halting discrimination between the real and imaginary. Andersen is the author of two of the best short stories I've ever read: "The Fir Tree" and "The Nightingale"—at least, I hold this view of the translations I read (*Andersen's Fairy Tales,* translated by Lucas and Paull, Grosset and Dunlap, $5.95). And while I'm speaking of fairy tales, let me not fail to mention Oscar Wilde, whose "The Happy Prince" is one of the most nearly perfect works of fictional and artistic style ever produced in English and one of the shrillest defenses of Christian altruism outside of C.S. Lewis.

The chief victim in our own language of stories-about-animals-are-stories-for-children school of criticism is Kenneth Grahame. Grahame was a belletrist in the purest sense of that word—a deliberate writer of beautiful prose. And in his sensibility he was very close to the decadent, aesthetic consciousness of the Yellow '90s (he contributed essays to the era's most notorious periodical, *The Yellow Book*). Yet because he chose to write of reluctant dragons and of animals (a rat, a mole, a toad, a badger) who speak and act like *fin de siecle* Englishmen, he has been remembered as a children's writer. Of course, Grahame wrote *The Wind in the Willows* originally for his children—wrote it for them in the sense that he composed for them the main plot, the Victorian fable of Toad who was addicted to fast motor cars and had to be recalled by his friends to a life of temperance. This is the heart of *The Wind in the Willows;* it is justly famous for the richness of its humor, and it is popular among children because of the simplicity (and simple-mindedness) of its moral perspective. But for Grahame and for all those children who skip over it only to become the adults who keep the book in print because of it, the heart of *The Wind in the Willows* is the chapters dropped into Toad's narrative from time to time as melliferous interruptions, as poetic relief—"Dulce Domum," "Wayfarers All," "The Piper at the Gates of Dawn." If there are prose poems, and I've said there are, these are some of the most accomplished in our language—the kind of orgiastic word revelry you might expect in Dylan Thomas or Mervyn Peake or the George Meredith of *The Shaving of Shagpat,* but not in a "children's writer."

Two of Grahame's lesser but still very atmospheric productions, *The Golden Age* and *Dream Days,* have recently been reissued, complete with the original Maxfield Parrish illustrations. I confess these old book illustrations together with the drawings of the late Victorian period (the work of Aubrey Beardsley and the *Alice* illustrations of Sir John Tenniel are representative of what I mean), are my favorite pictorial artworks—they are colorful and romantic, but outrageously stylized and individualized, so that the best of their makers—Arthur Rackham, Kai Nielsen, Maxfield Parrish—are instantly recognizable. Their work has recently been collected and published in a number of competing editions. The work of such later exemplars of their art as Mervyn Peake, Frank R. Pape, and Rockwell Kent, has lamentably, not yet become so newly popular. Two contemporary illustrators of genius are Leonard Lubin (whose new edition of Lewis Carroll's *The Pig-Tale* has recently been published by Little, Brown and Company, $4.95) and Edward Gorey, whose *Amphigorey,* an omnibus collection of fifteen picture books (some of them novels) with illustrative text, has been recently brought out (G.P. Putnam's, $12.95).

A survey a few years ago showed that a number of leading literary intellectuals would, if forced to choose only 50 books with which to live out the rest of their lives, include in the 50 a one-volume edition of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking Glass* by Lewis Carroll. I'd include it in my own 50, though it's difficult to explain why. Taken as a continuous narrative, the two form a unified whole, presenting a coherent child-perspective on the adult world. But the peculiarly keen pleasure its admirers take in *Alice* is not of a purely aesthetic sort. It is a more general admiring enthusiasm and elation at the chance to commune a few hours with a man of great wit and not a little erudition, who was able to weave an intricately patterned whimsical story out of scraps of philosophy, mathematics, politics, physics, literature, and an overriding sense of the extent to which the absurd and humorous are only special cases of the logically faulty. (The edition of *Alice* that guides the reader through all of these scraps in footnotes nearly as enjoyable as the text is Martin Gardner's *The Annotated Alice,* Clarkson Potter, $12.95.) I have been laughing at some of the *Alice* jokes for more than a decade; I've been relishing its polished epigrammatic style for at least that long; and I don't ever plan to stop marvelling at either. The book's biggest enthusiasts, interestingly, are philosophers, mathematicians, scientists, and literary intellectuals; its biggest detractors are children, most of whom find it annoyingly enigmatic or incomprehensible. And it is doubtless significant that Walt Disney's *Alice,* the most "faithful" of his feature-length animated adaptations of "children's literature," was his least successful commercially.

> "Bambi is not a faintly nauseating gambol among fawns and grasses; it is an existentialist fable...."

There are, of course, many other noteworthy works of English literary art that have been stigmatized by the label children's literature; it has been my purpose here to name only a few of the more ourstanding. If you enjoy the Victorian manner in fiction, I highly recommend Louisa May Alcott's famous trilogy of novels, *Little Women, Little Men,* and *Jo's Boys.* Also typical of the best in Victorian children's fiction is Mary Louisa Molesworth's *The Cuckoo Clock* (E.P. Dutton, $3.95). More recent works of note include A.A. Milne's *Winnie the Pooh* and *The House at Pooh Corner,* P.L. Travers' Marry Poppins books, Lucretia P. Hale's *The Peterkin Papers* (Houghton, Mifflin, $5.95), Rudyard Kipling's first *Jungle Book* (again, nothing like Walt Disney) and C.S. Lewis' *Chronicles of Narnia,* particularly volume six (which may be read first), *The Magician's Nephew* (Macmillan, $1.25, paperback). Next time: the essay, and a change of title for this series. ■

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PHILOSOPHY

Mind: An Essay on Human Feeling

By Susanne K. Langer

"The act form is most obvious in overt performances. . . . But when it is found throughout all organisms, something momentous happens to the whole panorama of biological facts, from the chemistry of protoplasm to the psychology of man: they are seen to be of one piece, no matter how far apart in its vast structure."

Thus does Susanne Langer elucidate a central concept of her two-volume masterwork, *Mind: An Essay on Human Feeling,* and simultaneously summarize her primary goal in writing it. To place all life into a context which leads *naturally* to its highest and most complex manifestation: human mentality, or mind. To steer between the Scylla of mechanistic reductionism and the Charybdis of vitalism without succumbing to either. To develop new concepts that can unify biology and psychology into one integrated field of study, which in turn will fit into the framework of the material universe revealed by modern physics and chemistry. To provide a philosophical groundwork for the study of man. Langer demonstrates that what is blocking the development of psychology and the social sciences is just this lack of a philosophical basis.

> "The range of research integrated into 'Mind' is breathtaking...."

In attempting such formidable tasks, the intrepid philosopher *initially* finds her way littered by piles of metaphysical chestnuts, which have kept most previous thinkers even from seeing this path as an alternative. These chestnuts have labels: the mind-body problem; reason versus emotion; the question of the origin of life; the "instinct" problem; the subject-object dichotomy; the paradoxes of evolution. Yet Langer, not by fiat, but by careful, systematic sweeping, manages to clear her path of all of them. This alone is worth the price of admission.

But there is much more. Structurally, *Mind* is itself a superlative philosophical organism, a tour de force of significant form. The growth of the argument, step by step, has the integration and inevitability of works of art, or of biological organisms. Langer begins by explaining her root concept—feeling. She goes on to demonstrate how the problem of the nature of consciousness disappears naturally, *without entailing a separate metaphysical substance,* if it is viewed as a psychical *phase* of physiological processes above a certain threshold of intensity.

> As soon as feeling is regarded as a phase of physiological process instead of a product of it, a new entity metaphysically different from it, the pardox of the physical and psychical disappears; for the thesis I hope to substantiate here is that the entire psychological field—including human conception, responsible action, rationality, knowledge—is a vast and branching development of feeling.

Langer continues by creating a framework of concepts to embrace the entire range of biological phenomena—from the cell to Beethoven. She offers ample substantiation for ther ambitious claims. Of especial interest is her detailed tracing of the "great shift" from animal to human mentality, which makes up volume two. She manages to do this without underestimating either animals or man—a formidable accomplishment.

The range of research integrated into *Mind* is breathtaking—including extensive materials from aesthetics, biochemistry, genetic biology, ethology, anthropology, and psychology. Langer is one of a painfully rare breed of philosopher, combining two qualities that seldom inhabit the same mind: bold originality in the generation of new concepts and painstaking thoroughness in grounding her speculations in empiric evidence wherever possible. These are wedded to an even rarer philosophical virtue—as anyone who has read *Feeling and Form* or *Philosophy in a New Key* can testify—lucid and graceful writing. And beyond these qualities lies yet another, more elusive but equally important: Langer's balance of an exact mind with a keen sensibility never violates either my logical faculties or my introspective awareness. There are few psychologists of whom this can be said.

A third volume is projected, to extend Langer's new concepts to the problems of ethics and epistemology. But volumes one and two can stand as a self-contained unit, a superb achievement on their own.

Mind: And Essay on Human Feeling is crucial reading for those seriously interested in psychology, biology, ethics, epistemology, aesthetics, the social sciences, or anyone concerned about the reintegration of our increasingly fractured intellectual community. Social and ethical philosophers, who so often introduce cherished concepts like justice and morality *in medias res,* without showing any interest in the organic/psychological substrate of human nature, will especially benefit from Langer's example. My own view of the phenomena of life and consciousness has been immeasurably enriched, as well as clarified, by the experience. **Reviewed by Regina Hugo / Johns Hopkins University Press, 1970 & 1974 / 2 vols., pb, $3.95 ea.**

THERE'S MORE TO FREEDOM THAN SLOGANS

Everybody claims to be in favor of "freedom." Yet how many people really understand what it's all about? Consider the businessman who's all for free competition . . . unless his competition is named IBM or is Japanese. Or the mayor who wants plentiful transportation . . . but outlaws jitneys. Or the military leader who wants to defend freedom . . . using conscripted labor. Or the citizen who's all for free speech and press . . . so long as the material isn't "obscene." Each wants freedom for the things he considers important, but at the expense of somebody else's freedom.

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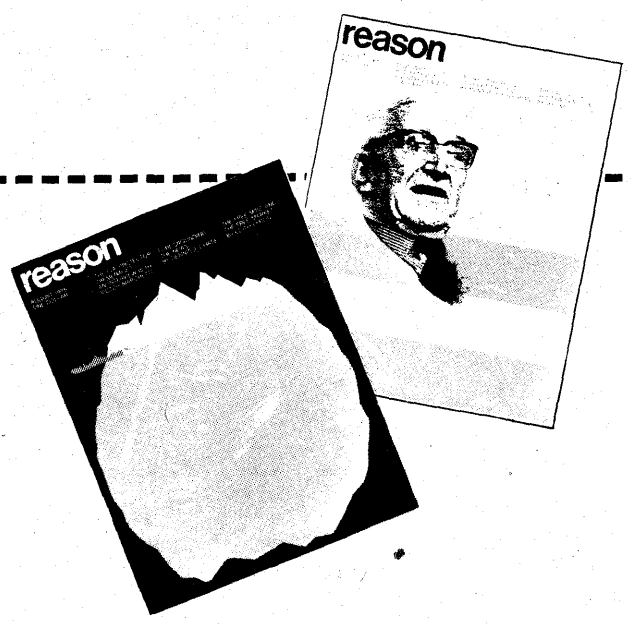

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Defending the Undefendable

By Walter Block

Many years ago Bernard Shaw wrote to John Barrymore with a description of the difference between a technician and a true artist. Shaw's conslusion: not much. The difference between a work of art and a plodding presentation is small indeed. It's comprised of those things that seem unimportant to the technician and would be important only to the artist. Yet everyone whose notice we care about recognizes the defects of the final product. Without the attention to the unimportant what is important becomes unimportant.

This lecture, which arose from Shaw's impressions of Hollywood, came irresistably to mind as I was reading Walter Block's *Defending the Undefendable.* I say "irresistably" because I am warmly disposed toward both the author and his thesis. Having some familiarity with the plan of the book as it was exposed by Block's essays in the *Libertarian Forum* over the past several years, I was looking forward to some exciting reading. And I was hoping that the book could be one that I might recommend without reservation. But I was disappointed.

Defending the Undefendable is a work of unrealized potential. The editing is sloppy. And the quality of the writing varies from chapter to chapter. Many good arguments, and indeed the book itself, founder over a simple misconception: Block is misusing the word *hero.* The pimp, prostitute, scab, slumlord, libeler, the person who yells "fire!" in a crowded theatre, the miser, the drug addict, the inheritor, and many others may indeed sometimes be "heroes." But not always. Often they are merely the low-life bums we always thought they were. Block's attempt to convince us otherwise sometimes seems to be mere sophistry, as in the case of the person who yells "fire!" in a crowded theatre. At the very best, it is semantic overkill to term such a person a hero. At worst, it ignores the plain meaning of one of the English tongue's oldest words. For 600 years *hero* has meant the same thing to Englishmen as the Greek equivalent meant in Homer's time. The hero was a man of superhuman strength or ability who was favored by the gods. The hero became famous on account of his great and noble deeds. In that sense, the hero was like a god. He was worshipped. Yet, no one to my knowledge has ever cited an example of a person who shouted "fire!" in a crowded theatre who was ever venerated for the deed locally or generally. Certainly, Block has given us no such example. He seems to be telling us, rather, that the "fire shouter" is misunderstood. Witness this passage: "What of the rights of the sadists who enjoy yelling 'fire!' in a crowded theatre, and then enjoy watching the crowd tear itself to pieces in the resultant mad rush for the exit? What of the masochists who relish the thought of having 'fire!' yelled at them while in the confines of a crowded theatre with the same mad but 'exhilerating' crush at the door?" These sadomasochists, panting for a seat on the aisle, seem to me to represent more a species of social pathology than of heroism.

The damage done to *Defending the Undefendable* by the silly and pointless reiteration of a claim to heroism for each species of rogue is large. If I may judge by my own reaction (as a reader who is predisposed to accept the notion that many of society's scapegoats perform useful services), then it may be imagined that those less in tune with the fundamental libertarian perspective of the author would be even more thoroughly alienated. And that is bad, because Block does have many uncanny economic insights into the value of such common social types as "the dishonest cop," "the prostitute," "the pimp." and "the drug pusher."

Block's essay on the slanderer and the libeler was eye-opening to me. He argues convincingly that one's "reputation" that is damaged by slander and libel is nothing to which one has rightful title in the first instance. It is indeed an interesting notion, though one that flies in the face of every system of law of which I have any knowledge. (As I am not a legal scholar, that does not mean very much, but I should nevertheless be interested in a further development of this slander and libel argument by someone who does have a firm grounding in the history of the common and natural law theories.) In the stateless societies of which I have knowledge, libel and slander have generally been treated as very serious offenses. This may be a reason that was analyzed by Gordon Tullock in "Economics of Lying" (in *Toward a Mathematics of Politics*). Tullock argues that the existence of reputations serves as an important inhibitor to fraud. The individuals with good reputations have an incentive to avoid fraud, as Adam Smith noted, because this increases the profitability of return business. If slander and libel are encouraged in society, as Block suggests, would this not weaken the market disciplines that protect us from fraud? I ask this question not to disagree with Block's conclusions, to which I am disposed, but to point out an area where a richer and fuller development of his thesis is wanting. He says that reputations might be better protected without libel laws. But his argument is too scanty, or so it seems to me, to convince many persons who would be inclined to give the matter careful thought.

> "In spite of ...rather large flaws ...'Defending the Undefendable' ...is a book worth reading."

This criticism is not to suggest that *Defending the Undefendable* is weakly argued throughout. It is not. Rather, the argument is uneven, as indeed is the prose style. The first section, which deals with sexual rogues, the prostitute, the pimp and the male chauvinist pig, is rather well argued. Many persons, of course, would be ready to believe that prostitutes provide useful services. To that extent, much of Block's competent argument here seems rather obvious. The section on the pimp, being less obvious, is more interesting. The treatment of the male chauvinist pig I found most interesting of all. Block really does make a strong case (excepting that he does not seem to understand in this instance also the difference between a hero and a person engaging in permissible behavior).

In the medical section the argument about the drug pusher is convincing. The argument that the drug addict is admirable is something else again. This chapter strains Block's reasoning to the limit.

The section on free speech is perhaps the most interesting in the book. The arguments here are interesting but again flawed not only by the author's mechanical insistence that each "undefendable" is a hero but by his uneven prose style.

Block's chapter on the nongovernment counterfeiter contains an excellent exposition of the imputation of costs from inflation. I recommend it on that account, but *not* for his argument that the nongovernment counterfeiter is a hero. Block deals all too cavalierly with the fact that most private counterfeiters are detected and that the victims of the private counterfeiters (as opposed to the victims of government counterfeiting) normally absorb all of the loss when the counterfeit is noticed.

The chapter on the inheritor seemed to me to be entirely beside the point. A good editor might well have excluded it from the collection, as it tells us nothing that we don't already know, namely that most individuals will warm to a gift.

The last 100 pages of the book deal rather more conventionally—from a libertarian perspective—with the economic roles of entrepreneurs in various occupations: slumlord, ghetto merchant, speculator, importer, middleman, profiteer, strip miner, waste-maker, fat-capitalist-pig employer, scab, rate buster, and employer of child labor. These are persons who normally suffer the unjust condemnation of society because of prevalent anticapitalist fallacies. And it is when the argument reaches this point that one wishes, or so I wished, that Block had not spent a good deal of his credibility attempting to establish that the drug addict and the sadomasochists in the crowded theatre and the counterfeiter, even the inheritor, were somehow heroic. If he had not, his cogent arguments here might have been much more persuasive.

In spite of the rather large flaws in the execution of *Defending the Undefendable,* it is a book worth reading. The cartoons, by Rodrigues, are often funny. And Block, when he is at his best, is both entertaining and suggestive. What he is not, however is consistently attentive to detail, nor is he very ambitious in enriching his rich thesis with examples and anecdotes. If he had attended better to the art of writing and spared us the silly insistence on making all of society's rogues into heroes, then his very important thesis might well have become a very important book.

Reviewed by James Dale Davidson / Fleet Press, 1976 / $9.95

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Living With Equals

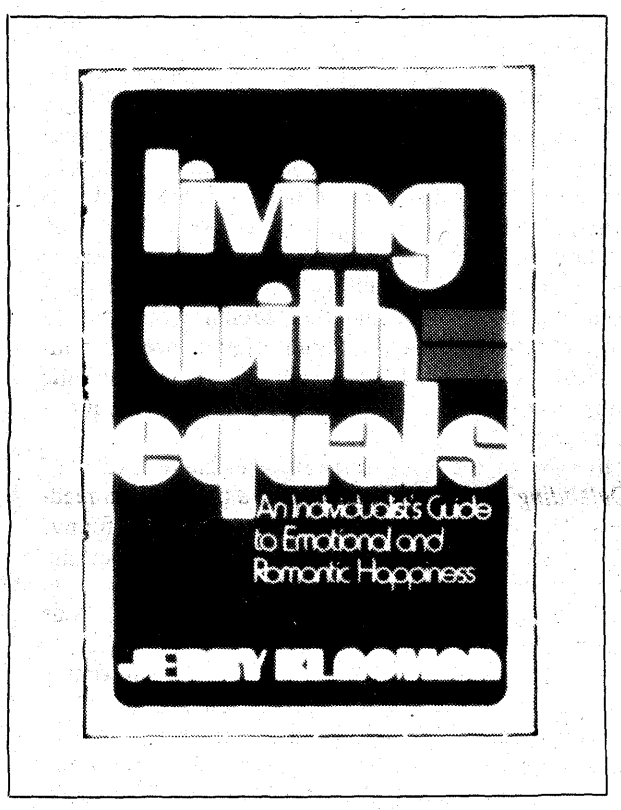
PSYCHOLOGY

By Jerry Klasman

Jerry Klasman's *Livings With Equals* (subtitled *An Indivudualist's Guide to Emotional and Romantic Happiness*) constitutes a step forward in extending the concept of individual liberty to thousands of people—people who are not libertarians and who could not care less about the political and economic rhetoric of freedom, but who *are* interested in ideas that have some bearing on their personal problems... and especially on their romantic problems.

Living With Equals appeals to the self-interest of its audience by setting forth a comprehensible view of romantic love. It stresses the importance of psychological autonomy as a guiding factor in a successful and happy relationship. And, early in the game, Klasman makes it clear: "Sovereignty or slavery. You can't have it both ways."

The trouble with most romantic relationships today is that they are generally based on The Myth—the myth of the happy-ever-after marriage, the myth of emotional and romantic security, the myth that one



lifestyle preordained by society is appropriate for all. These myths have their origin in authoritarian attitudes that most people accept unquestioningly—attitudes of psychological control and ownership of other people.

Klasman cuts through The Myth with clarity: "Equality in romantic relationships requires a meshing of sovereignties comparable to the meshing of gears in a machine. The teeth on each of two gears mesh and transmit energy that makes the machine move. Similarly, the values of two people mesh and make a relationship move.... Living with equals requires living with differences, accepting of the realities of your lover's life even when they don't match yours. And of one reality you can always be sure: You and your lover are not identical."

Klasman explains the nature of values and emotions—how they function in our individual lives and how they come into play in our romantic lives. He also talks about differences—the kind that make a relationship grow, and the kind that bring a relationship to an end. "Respecting your lover's sovereignty is the ONLY way to be sure that the relationship is built on voluntarism and freedom of choice rather than on the abdication of sovereignty, on ownership."

Part of learning about individual sovereignty is learning about the nature of jealousy, to which Klasman devotes an entire chapter. Klasman views jealousy as "*the* ownership trip. . . the *ne plus ultra* of authoritarianism." According to Klasman, jealousy is *"the emotional response to the loss, or threat of loss, of emotional property."* He is careful to differentiate jealousy from envy and insecurity, emotions with characteristics of their own, and he gives constructive ways to deal with them.

Perhaps the most interesting part of *Living With Equals* is the chapter entitled, "Monopolies: Coercive and Natural." No, Klasman has not turned from love to economics, but has employed an economic analogy to describe two kinds of exclusive romantic relationships—one in which two people remain exclusive because of choice (natural), and one in which two people remain exclusive because of obligation (coercive).

This will surely be the most controversial issue raised in *Living With Equals,* as there are some people who would argue that an obligation to be sexually faithful does not consitute a breach of sovereignty. But Klasman's arguments in favor of natural romantic monopolies rather than coervice ones, as he defines them, are extremely cogent and worthy of serious consideration.

Finally, Klasman tells us that living with equals is *"the emotional freedom to give everything to your lover and the relationship without being concerned that the gift will be used in an attempt to restrict your freedom."*

It will be books such as *Living With Equals* that will finally lead the way to a common understanding of what individual freedom entails. This book exposes—without the rhetoric of heavier works—the advantages of being autonomous, of being sovereign in your own life. Psychological laissez faire, for many people, must necessarily precede political laissez faire. Unless the spirit of individuality is a deeply felt and deeply held personal conviction, the implementation of human

> "Sovereignty or slavery. You can't have it both ways."

liberty in the political spectrum is likely to falter.

The achievement of human liberty rests more on human emotions than many libertarians like to admit. The fact that the way to people's minds is through their hearts may seem unfortunate, but it is often the case. And where this is so, it will be books like *Living With Equals* that strike the first blows for liberty. **Reviewed by Susan Love Brown / Delacorte, 1976 / $6.95**

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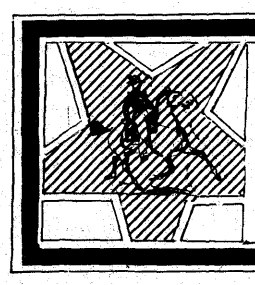

Cinema IN REVIEW

On View

By David Brudnoy

O MARLON

Is there a more American movie genre than the western? Is not the western movie the Celluloid synedoche of the American character? Well, sure, and the western is in trouble, as John Simon writes in a perceptive piece in *New York* (31 May 1976), in heap big trouble, pod'ner.

Not that it's all a shame. Not with such stalwart white hats as John Wayne vamping on memories of John Wayne past, in *True Grit* and the sequel to that parodic delight, *Rooster Cogburn . . . (and the Lady).* Not with last year's triumphant comedy, *Hearts of the West,* goofing on the West's West and Hollywood's West and Hollywood's Hollywood and the real Hollywood all in one mighty stroke. Ours is the age of the put-down and the throw-away, the sick joke wedded to the shade of camp, the "Aside from that, Mrs. Lincoln, how'd ya like the play?" embedded in a permanent "what do you mean 'we,' white man?" Give a little thanks that the West retains, in this fetid atmosphere of our national consciousness, a hefty dose of its original attraction, such that even the send-ups, the *Blazing Saddles,* are reverent in their satire, respectful of just so much of what they gaily slash away at.

What, then to make of *The Missouri Breaks,* the latest "important" western, the long awaited marriage of the awesome talents of Jack Nicholson—who is everywhere these days in all the very best movies—and Marlon Brando, who has spread physically until his corpus resembles his ego? What to make of a movie that is at once a demystification of the West, a hymn to the West, and a vile sneer at the West (this as much Brando's doing as that of anyone else connected to the venture)?

In his *New York* piece, which, unfortunately, I read just before sitting down to write this, John Simon flawlessly dissects the undoing of the western flick, in reference to *Missouri Breaks;* and if research is copping from more than one source, plagiarism is copping from one source only, so I'd best let the philosophizing about the western go, with humble advice to the reader to look up Simon's article and but one chunk of quotation from a piece I can't better:

"Hailed by various Bicentennial hacks as the great American myth or great American art form, it [the western] may prove to be the great American embarrassment. For a long time it could thrive on shooting up Indians, until we recognized our national guilt, and shooting up Indians, at least as a heroic accomplishment, became taboo. Which left outlaws. You could still shoot *them* up and look good. But that began to give a funny image of the Old West: nothing but varmints shooting decent folk and lawmen shooting varmints, and in between a lot of frightened people gumming up the fireworks. Besides, after the millionth variation on the archetypal plot, it starts to pall on everyone except fanatics and simpletons—though these may never be in short supply, thus insuring every more farfectched, adulterated, and desperate westerns a ghoulish sort of immortality."

> "O Marlon, what a crock!"

Well, you get the point. And then along comes *The Missouri Breaks,* and then you realize that the makers of this outraging, engaging, infuriating, goofy film might just as well have saved themselves the trouble. At least so long as they intended that Marlon Brando function as its linchpin. Brando, from all accounts, simply did what he damn well pleased during the film's shooting, and whatever intent there may at the start have been, to say something coherent, albeit something coherently black, about the West, went out the window every time Marlon Brando hauled his massive bulk in front of the camera.

Maybe it's just revenge, Brando the Injun-lover, Brando the rummy gumming up the 1973 Oscarfest with his little gag, coming back to stink up a western that had vast potential, to befoul the atmosphere with his presence on screen, as in 1973 he had used the Academy's award to him of its precious Oscar as the occasion on which to dispatch a semi-Indian lass named Sasheen Littlefeather to reject his award for him because of Oscar's immediately apparent nexus to the woeful plight of the Original Americans, as we are today instructed to call the Indians.

> "...the makers of this outraging, engaging, infuriating, goofy film might just as well have saved themselves the trouble."

The Missouri Breaks has no Indians i it, just two chiefs: Nicholson, who shine gloriously as an outlaw leader pushing hi luck, and Brando, as a "regulator," o hired gun, a (we in due course realize maniacal killer, employed on the side more or less, of the law, to kill the hors thieves in his own fashion, which happen

(Continued on page 1

45 Million People Exposed to Libertarian Ideas!

Forty-five million—that's a realistic estimate of the number of people who have heard, seen, or read about Roger MacBride and the Libertarian Party since the start of our presidential campaign.

Not bad for the first seven months. And it's only the beginning! The most important months are still ahead. By Election Day, Roger and his running mate, Dave Bergland, will have traveled to 45 states and more than 200 cities and towns.

No question about it: Americans are fed up with government. They're ready for the libertarian alternative. Again and again in their discussions with voters around the country, Roger and Dave have found that people understand and sympathize with what we're saying. In fact, the public's readiness to embrace libertarianism has surprised even the most optimistic LP organizers.

Our time has come. This year, as never before, libertarian ideas can make a real impact. We now have a chance to initiate a fundamental change in the direction of society—away from statism and toward individual liberty.

The key to that redirection is the Libertarian Party and the MacBride for President campaign.

Why? Because the LP is the only institution actively spreading libertarian ideas on a mass basis. And because nothing has the power to reach and sway so many Americans so effectively as a presidential campaign.

Yet we have a tremendous advantage over all other parties and candidates: *we are saying something different,* something vitally important, something that needs to be said.

The result? The media are talking about us, and people everywhere are listening.

Everyone's talking about us.

Already, Roger and Dave have appeared on 40 TV shows, more than 100 radio programs, and have been written up in dozens of syndicated columns and wire service reports.

Here are just a few recent examples:

"1976 may be the ideal year for the young, brave, and idealistic Libertarian Party to put forth a presidential candidate. . . . [MacBride's] views are like fresh air—almost like straight oxygen—and he has been winning converts from the liberal and conservative camps at a surprising rate."

—THE NATIONAL OBSERVER

"The party has come a long way toward receiving national prominence and odds are that the nation has not heard the last from Roger MacBride, the Libertarian Party, and their campaign to roll back big givernment and guarantee individual freedom in America once more."

—HUMAN EVENTS

"Roger MacBride's Libertarian Party may become the new wisdom of those seeking to turn the older parties into pathways that would have made sense to the Thomas Jefferson who believed that the mark of good government is one that governs least."

—JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

But press coverage is only one part of our strategy. Here are some other accomplishments of the campaign, as this ad went to press:

- Petition drives are underway to get the LP's presidential ticket on the ballot across the country. Prospects look good for ballot status in as many as 35 states.
- A major advertising campaign has begun. It includes a series of 30 and 60 second radio and TV commercials, print ads, and direct-mail appeals to doctors, gun owners, "S-1" opponents, and other groups.
- We've founded the Young Libertarian Alliance—a network of LP affiliates on campuses. A YLA campus organizing manual has been published, and recruitment ads have been run in more than 150 college newspapers.
- The LP is now established in all 50 states. As a result, the MacBride campaign will be provided with essential grassroots organization and support.

What you can do to help.

But to accomplish all this, we need money. *We categorically refuse to accept tax funds*—libertarian principles permit us no other decision. That means the success of this campaign depends upon voluntary contributions from people like you.

If you've been wondering what one single action you can take to help create a libertarian society, ask yourself this question:

How else but with a presidential campaign could basic, undiluted libertarian ideas reach 45 million people in only seven months?

Please help us reach *another* 45 million. Clip out the coupon below and mail it with your contribution. Today.

Yes, I want to help bring the libertarian alternative to another 45 million Americans.

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POLITICIANS AND BUREAUCRATS CAME TO WASHINGTON TO DO GOOD,

(...and, they have done very well.)

It is supposed to be bad manners to question the motives of public servants. So we won't doubt that government employees, including politicians, are absolutely sincere in working for the public interest.

And we don't doubt that they should be paid for what they do.

But there are limits to what society can afford to pay government employees. Those limits have been passed. For example:

- According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the average Government employee in Washington, D.C., earns about $17,000 per year. The average employee of private business earns only a little more than $10,000 per year.
- The average employee of the Federal Government gets 50% more paid time off than the person working for private business.
- Government employees work shorter hours and have greater job security than persons in private enterprise.
- Federal employees can retire with full pension at age 55—a decade sooner than the typical employee in private enterprise.

A study by the General Accounting Office confirms that government employees get paid more for doing less. For example, claims processors working for the government handle 2,500 claims per year. Those working for private companies process more than twice as many—an average of 5,700 claims per year. In addition, the government processors earn $21,600 while those working for private industry average about only $15,000.

Few private employers can afford to match the high pay government offers, and in attempting to try some have gone broke.The majority who remain in business often do so at low profit rates—returning less to investors than is yielded by government bonds. The result is a lack of capital in productive enterprise and this causes high unemployment.

The situation clearly should be corrected, for the benefit of everyone in society including government employees. But instead of getting better, it's getting worse. Government employees got a 5% raise this past October. They will get another raise this year—it's automatic.

By the time they reach retirement, most government employees are earning much more than members of the public who pay their salaries.

After retirement, the gap between government employees and the rest of the public becomes startlingly large. The Federal Pension system is set up so that retired bureaucrats actually profit from inflation. When the cost of living rises 3% their pensions are adjusted by 4%. After a few years of retirement, many former government employees receive more than when they were working. In fact, many will get more in retirement benefits than the average person earns in his entire working life. This is due to a quirk in the Federal Pension Law—the so-called "1% add on." Former member of Congress, Hastings Keith, calculated that his own pension went up 9% more than the cost of living in just 2½ years of retirement. If increases continue at that rate, Mr. Keith will be getting more than *$17,000 per month* by the end of his life expectancy.

When the benefits of working for government become too great, everyone in society suffers. Even government workers. Inflationary deficit spending raises the cost of living for everybody. The higher taxes and lower profits in private life mean less production of goods and services, which government employees want to consume.

The result is a vicious downward spiral, which threatens our entire economy. While government pay and pensions skyrocket, the taxpayers, who pay the bills are getting poorer. Real earnings of working Americans went down for the second straight year in 1975.

Small wonder.

Former chief actuary for the Social Security Administration, Robert Myers, calculated that the "1% add on" alone could cost taxpayers as much as $400 billion dollars. Since there are only about 60 million actual taxpayers,—your share would be about $6,500.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

As we see it, you have 3 choices:

1) You could quit what you're doing and run to get a government job.
2) You could do nothing and wait to have another $6,500 in taxes squeezed from your income.
3) Or, you could speak up.

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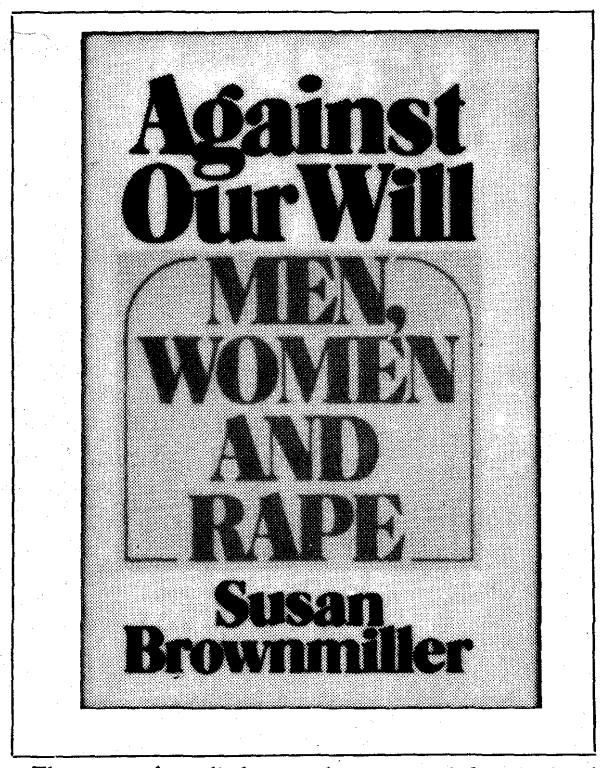
Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape

SOCIOLOGY

By Susanne Brownmiller

THERE IS A WIDELY KNOWN story about two men who greet each other on the street in a small town in Poland. "Why have you not returned the pot I lent you?" one says to the other. "I did not borrow your pot," the other replies. "Besides, it was broken when you lent it to me and, besides, I have already returned it to you intact."



That marvelous little anecdote, quoted from a book called *The Open and Closed Mind* by Milton Rokeach, tells the sum and substance of the psychological system behind Susan Brownmiller's *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape.* The system is absurdist, making all roads lead to Rome and closing all roads to anywhere else. It is a system of belief that is fixed and fanatic and built on some astounding fictions.

It is Squeaky Fromme linking the redwood trees to her try at Gerald Ford.

Much ballyhoo has accompanied the publication of *Against Our Will.* An all-systems-go publicity campaign has been mounted on the part of Brownmiller's publisher followed by the synchronized predictable response of her true-believer followers. Joining the chorus, unfortunately, have been some otherwise intelligent people who've suspended their usual good judgment, slipping their doubts in softly among much louder words of praise. Of course, there are deadline problems and hasty readings. There are other factors as well, by which I mean overwhelming pressure and, on the part of male reviewers, what I suspect is the disquieting discomfort of a most complex sense of guilt. They are, after all, being told that while they are not quite rapists, they are responsible for rape's existence, and maybe they think they really are. Indeed, there is some foundation for guilt (though not that one); it is utterly disproportionate to the reality.

I speak as a woman who is anything but hostile to liberation, both sexual and economic. But I am inclined to see ambiguities in the hearts of men and women, which clearly prevent me from an alliance with those for whom ambiguities quite simply do not exist. I feel it important to state this first. That is where I stand. And rape, needless to say, is an abomination upon this earth, as is the revolting idea that a woman cannot be raped against her will.

Susan Brownmiller has a Myrmidon theory which comes at the end of a chapter titled "The Police-Blotter Rapist" (supposed to describe the genuine article, though it doesn't). The Myrmidons of Achilles did his bidding and functioned "in anonymity as effective agents of terror." Brownmiller then draws one parallel: "Police-blotter rapists in a very real sense perform a Myrmidon function for all men in our society. . . . That *some* men rape provides a sufficient threat to keep all women in a constant state of intimidation, forever conscious of the knowledge that the biological tool must be held in awe for it may turn to weapon with a sudden swiftness born of harmful intent. Myrmidons to the cause of male dominance, police-blotter rapists have performed their duty well. . . . Rather than society's abberrants . . . men who commit rape have served in effect as front-line masculine shock-troops, terrorist guerrillas in the longest sustained battle the world has ever known."

I have heard excuses for such stuff, implicit or stated quite openly on just about every page of this book: She got carried away, stunned by the horror of the material she unearthed. This defense presumes that Susan Brownmiller set out with clear-eyed objectivity. The other defense is more to the point: Brownmiller is a polemicist and was bound to omit and distort information that failed to suit her purpose. But *Against Our Will* has not been presented to the public as a polemical work at all. It has been presented as a history, as an accurate story of rape through time, as a correct revelation of its meaning and the ramifications thereof. These include a supposedly factual account of biblical law, the portrait of the rapist himself, the thinking of criminologists and the work of Sigmund Freud along with

> "This book has been taken seriously, not because it is good but because it exploits a mood of guilt, of fear, of sexual divisiveness."

psychoanalysis in general. What she has stated on these things has been accepted as valid, and even reviewers who have been somewhat critical of her ideological bias have been brought to their knees by what they applaud as scholarship. *Against Our Will* is not the result of scholarship. Rather it is the result of inadequate, shoddy research and/or a manipulation of material that comes awfully close to deceit.

I do not say this lightly. Nor would I say it in any case if I believed for a minute that what truth there is in the book—and naturally there is some—was either sufficient or placed in an enlightened context that pointed the way toward much-needed progress, toward the diminishing of that sexual war which is the very foundation of inequality.

> "Anyone who has been led to believe they have the straight goods from 'Against Our Will' should read...or reread 'The Boston Strangler' and then compare it to what Brownmiller has extrapolated...."

Brownmiller tells us of the first prehistoric rape. The second, she is sure was "indubitably planned" though it remains a bit unclear if it was that one, or the third, or the fifth, or the twentieth that was also a gang rape to boot. The theme is set. Rape forced the formation of the human family. Rape, from the beginning and throughout time is the fundamental act of man. So reductionist is Brownmiller's vision that rape to her is apparently the only motif in history.

Thus, in her account of Hebraic ways "Thou shalt not rape" was missing from the Ten Commandments. Actually, she is wrong since the Hebrew word for adultery is *tinaf,* a generic term for a group of acts, one of which is rape. But errors—and that is a small one—don't seem to matter to Susan Brownmiller. Like a bloodhound, she will not give up until she has extracted from the Bible all the messages she wants. One is the story of Potiphar's wife who cried rape and was thought a liar. For along with that legend, it is Sigmund Freud and Helene Deutsch who share the responsibility for all this talk of false accusation and never mind the centuries between. But what of, for example, the famous Renaissance incident at Loudun when the Curé-Grandier was burned at the stake because of the nun, Jeanne Des Anges, the victim, not of the curé, but of the sexual hysteria of an imagined possession? What of similar incidents that raged through the Middle Ages—as did rape in a time that the historian G. Rattray Taylor described as resembling "one vast insane asylum"?

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L.R. Essay Review

Rape *is* more common in times of social disorder, violence and war. Brownmiller describes rape in war as "a familiar act with a familiar excuse;" "uprisings, riots, revolutions . . . all have provided an outlet and . . . even an ideological excuse for men to practice rape on women"; "war provides men with a tacit license to rape. . . ." The "prerequisites" of rape are "access and opportunity." By which it should be inferred that men can't wait to get out there and risk their lives and live in filth and see their friends killed and be forced to kill others because, after all, compensation awaits them—the glorious chance to rape.

Brownmiller herself has promoted the idea that her conception of rape as the primary feature in the subjugation of women is more or less original; that it could not have been initiated before today's feminist movement and certainly no man could have dwelt on it extensively as crucial to the male-female struggle.

That is patently false. It was elaborated on at tremendous length in the essay "Masculine and Feminine: Some Biological and Cultural Aspects" written in 1944 by the Freudian analyst Gregory Zilboorg who, moreover, drew upon views expressed by one Lester F. Ward in 1888. (The Zilboorg paper appeared originally in *Psychiatry* 7 [1944]. A slightly abridged version can also be found in a Pelican paperback, *Psychoanalysis and Women* edited by Jean Baker Miller.) The similarities make me uneasy. They are also extremely ironic in view of Brownmiller's ill-conceived remarks about Freudians.

The Zilboorg essay, though covering some of the same ground, gives no reinforcement of any sort to the thesis of *Against Our Will.* Whether Zilboorg was right or wrong, his speculations were a thoughtful attempt to correct what he felt was a serious cultural lag on the part of psychoanalysis. He viewed woman as initially the ruling sex (like the female in the animal kingdom), not only equally powerful, but superior because she could conceive and create and because the male was merely a fertilizer who, after he preformed that function, could get lost for all she cared. By the process of natural selection, she developed the male into a very strong creature—and then whammo. Zilboorg would sound as silly as Susan Brownmiller (who could really know what ocurred back then?) were it not for his ultimate point that it is man's envy of woman, not to mention his terrible fear of her, that bears on the hostility relating to the development of the social order, which he thought profoundly unjust.

> "'Against Our Will' is not the result of scholarship.... it is the result of inadequate, shoddy research and/or manipulation of material that comes awfully close to deceit."

But it would take a quantum leap from Zilboorg's concept of envy (borne out by innumerable observations: anthopological, clinical, mythological) to the portrait of the rapist Brownmiller presents: "An unextraordinary violent-prone fellow." That is the stupidest contradiction to begin with. It is also pulled up from the flimsiest ground: Statistics she likes and a bunch of "decrees" about the character of the rapist as he is viewed by criminologists and psychiatrists, followed by more decrees about the character of the rapist as Susan Brownmiller declares it.

If Brownmiller had wanted to know what rapists were actually like, she would have gone to the prisons and talked to those jailed for the crime. She would have gone to the treatment centers of those prisons and spoken with those who deal with rapists. She, at least, would have tried to interpret correctly the most substantive material in the works she refers to. Anyone who has been led to believe they have gotten the straight goods from *Against Our Will* should read or reread *The Boston Strangler* and then compare it to what Brownmiller has extrapolated from Gerold Frank's fine book.

What Brownmiller is determined to prove—through statistics that are not very comprehensive (they amount to one of her drowning jobs)—is an enormous prevalence of gang rape. "Male bonding" is clearly her bete noir. Group rape also strikes her as vivid evidence. It is also critical to her theory of the *"male ideology of rape"* (italics mine), which she sees as vividly evident in the group attack. Thus it is important to her that group at-

> "So reductionist is Brownmiller's vision that rape to her is apparently the only motif in history."

tack be demonstrated as a huge phenomenon. But the true extent of gang rape is questionable. The statistics she has marshalled are not conclusive. Surely it is feasible that a group attack is easier to report simply because it is easier to prove. Immunity can be offered to one guy if he will just tell on the others, and I shudder to think of the proof in the internal condition of a woman who has suffered a gang assault. My own recent check with the very sophisticated Sex Crimes Analysis Unit of New York City, by the way, uncovered a gang rape figure of a strikingly low 10 percent of reported rapes.

Brownmiller is aware that the ghetto breeds crime. She refers to the "subculture of violence," a theory developed by the renowned criminologist Marvin Wolfgang. But her oversimplifications are outrageous, a means of pushing Wolfgang's theories to coincide with hers.

The point is that the ghetto is not the villain to Brownmiller. It most certainly is not family disintegration, notorious as a ghetto phenomenon and notorious as a contributor to pathology. The villain is the male culture and its offspring, some loony entity she calls "the heroic rapist." There is an element of truth in her chapter about this creation; but the truth is far outweighed by the quantity of absolute nonsense. " 'Hero' is the surprising word," she says, "that men employ when they speak of Jack the Ripper." She then cites three examples, which leaves an awfully large number of men in the world and also leaves hanging the question: What did she do, take a poll?

This book has been taken seriously, not because it is good but because it exploits a mood of guilt, of fear, of sexual divisiveness. My concern is its chilling aspects and its ugly implications revealed so glaringly in Brownmiller's account of the case of Emmett Till, the 14-year-old black boy from Chicago who, in 1955, was murdered in Mississippi for whistling at the white woman Carolyn Bryant. It was wrong, she makes clear, that he was killed

> "The villain is the male culture and its offspring, some loony entity she calls 'the heroic rapist.'"

and that his murderers were acquitted. But as for Emmett Till's whistle? It was "no small tweet of hubba-hubba or melodious approval for a well-turned ankle. . . . It was a deliberate insult just short of physical assault, a last reminder to Carolyn Bryant that this black boy, Till, had in mind to possess her." On the following pages, she speaks of the years it took her to "understand the insult implicit in Emmett Till's whistle, the depersonalized challenge of 'I can have you' with or without the racial aspect. Today a sexual remark on the street causes within me a fleeting but murderous rage." Need I say more?

Well maybe only this. There is a section in this book in which Brownmiller calls for karate training from childhood. She describes her own training program in that and jujitsu and how she gained a "recognition that age thirty-eight is not the most propitious time in life *to begin* to learn how to kick and hit and break a stranglehold, and a new and totally surprising awareness of my body's potential to inflict real damage. I learned I had natural weapons that I didn't know I possessed, like elbows and knees. I learned how to kick backward as well as forward." And this corker: "I learned how to fight dirty, and I learned that I loved it."

Brownmiller can smile sweetly on talk shows. She can chat away about her noble ideals and shake her head sadly about talk of violence and voice her disapproval—to which I say just this: Who is kidding whom?

I am reminded of the words of Karl Meninger in the dedication to *Man Against Himself.* I offer it here as a contrast to everything that is in *Against Our Will:* "To those who would use intelligence in the battle against death—to strengthen the will to live against the wish to

> "Brownmiller is a polemicist and was bound to omit and distort information that failed to suit her purpose."

die, and to replace with love the blind compulsion to give hostage to hatred as the price of living." ©1975 by the *Washington Post.* **Reviewed by Myra Friedman / Simon & Schuster, 1975 / $10.95**

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Free Market Economics: Syllabus & Reader

ECONOMICS/EDUCATION

By Bettina Bien-Greaves

No one would deny the importance of teaching our country's youth sound economic principles. Yet very little material has been available which is suitable for high school students. Happily now, a study outline, or syllabus, has been prepared by Bettina Bien-Greaves for just this purpose. Mrs. Greaves is eminently qualified for this task, having studied for 20 years with Ludwig von Mises.

The *Syllabus,* comprising 240 pages, is divided into three sections: (1) Basics, (2) Economic Principles, and (3) Historical and Political Aspects. These sections are subdivided into units, each one dealing with a major subject area. The units contain suggested activities, explanatory text, a list of significant terms used, which are defined in a glossary and recommended readings.

This syllabus is a well-integrated guide to free market economics, beginning with first principles and advancing in a logical procession. The text is filled with illustrations and examples to make less obvious principles more readily understandable, and suggested activities which the high school teacher can make use of in the classroom to dramatize and illustrate important key concepts. Questions are supplied which can be used to enhance the students' understanding of sound economics through thought-provoking discussion or individual study.

A list of some of the chapters gives an indication of the book's scope: What is Economics?; The Nature of the Individual—Values and Actions; Private Property and Exchange; Prices, Pricing; Savings, Tools and Production; and Money, Credit and Banking.

The Syllabus covers a broad range of economic applications. It even provides a guide to help explain to the student the basic workings of the stock market, including an explanation of the daily transactions page of the newspaper.

Just as any book has a unifying concept underlying its text and structure, in Mrs. Greaves' *Syllabus,* "The theme throughout is that economics is a study of the *consequences* of (1) individual *choices* which depend on the *ideas* individuals hold and (2) individual *actions* taken in the conscious attempt to attain the various goals held by the individuals concerned. Current economic events become intelligible only when explained on the basis of *economic laws derived from this insight into the nature of human action.*" (My emphasis.)

Although designed as a study plan to aid the high school teacher in teaching a comprehensive course in free-market economics, this syllabus can be used by beginning economics students for studying on their own. "This Syllabus. . . contains many suggestions for introducing and explaining economics to younger students, as well as material to challenge older students and even adult readers."

> "Bettina Bien-Greaves has paved the way for a solidly based education in sound economics for ...the serious student of any age."

As a handy accompaniment to the *Syllabus,* Mrs. Greaves has compiled a *Basic Reader* of eighty-one essays "arranged . . . in broad subject categories so that they form in effect a 'course of study' in and of themselves. A substantial understanding of free market economics may be gained by reading this volume systematically from beginning to end." Each essay has been selected by Mrs. Greaves "to help explain or to illustrate some aspect of the theory of free market economics." Although the *Syllabus* is best used with the *Reader,* the *Reader* can be used separately, on its own.

The *Syllabus* suggests essays in the *Basic Reader* as well as other sources for relevant material, and each of the volumes contains a glossary.

The *Basic Reader* is divided into sixteen groups corresponding to the sixteen chapters of the *Syllabus.* It presents essays by such notable free-market economists as Ludwig von Mises, Henry Hazlitt, Percy L. Greaves, Jr., Israel Kirzner, Hans Sennholz, Leonard Read, David Ricardo, and Frederic Bastiat. Writings by James Madison, David Crockett, and John Stuart Mill, to name just a few, are also included.

The two-volume *Free Market Economics* provides a much-needed guide to teaching free market economics to the very important and overlooked (in this regard) high school student, or student of any age who is interested in learning free-market economics on his or her own. Bettina Bien-Greaves has paved the way for a solidly based education in sound economics for both the high school student and the serious student of any age. Her two-volume *Free Market Economics* was sorely needed and should be a welcome addition to any library—at school or home. ©1975, Laissez Faire Books. **Reviewed by Sheldon Wasserman / Foundation for Economic Education, 1975 / $6 each, $10 a set**

A Libertarian Think Tank?

Yes. And it's about time.

The right has its American Enterprise Institute. The left its Institute for Policy Studies. And the liberals have their Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

So why not us? Surely the libertarian movement deserves its own permanent foundation committed to the study of ideas and the evaluation of political and social alternatives.

A small group of libertarian scholars and writers agreed that it does. They met and formulated plans for the *Center for Libertarian Studies.* The Center, they decided, would ultimately serve as the nation's major source of libertarian scholarship.

Consider for a moment the impact of America's established political foundations.

Research done at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions led directly to the Kennedy-Johnson "War on Poverty." The Institute for Policy Studies has played a major role in shaping the strategies of the left. And the American Enterprise Institute, says Karl Hess, "presses the conservative cause more effectively and persistently than any group in America and perhaps in the entire world."

However we may disagree with the ideologies of these organizations, we must admit that they're on the right track tactically. They know that *ideas are the key to social change.* If we're serious about achieving a libertarian society, we must create a climate to encourage the basic theory and research that will make it possible. In the long run, no task is more important for the advance of liberty.

The creation of such a climate is precisely the purpose of the Center for Libertarian Studies.

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The functions of the Center.

The program of the Center for Libertarian Studies includes the following activities:

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A **Fellows Program,** to provide young students of liberty with financial assistance, enabling them to study with the Center's New York City-area resident scholars.

The Center **Newsletter,** to keep our supporters informed about the activities and accomplishments of CLS.

CLS **Occasional Papers,** and the **Educational Project,** to promote wider understanding of libertarian ideas.

And finally, looking toward the future, a **permanent physical facility,** which will be located in the New York metropolitan area.

Of course, there's a lot more to be said about these activities. We'll be glad to send you a copy of the Center's official prospectus, which discusses each one in more detail. Just check the appropriate box on the coupon below.

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Music IN REVIEW

Tom Waits

By Steven Utley

What goes around is supposed to come around.

In the mid-'50s, Elvis Presley stood pop music on its ear and cleared the way for Chuck Berry, Little Richard, Jerry Lee Lewis, Bo Diddley, Buddy Holly. The early '50s had been given over to vapid dribble like Patti Page's "Tennessee Waltz," music too bland, too weak, to compete with rock and roll, the early, raw stuff that made up in sheer joyous energy what it almost always (save in the case of Berry's sly lyrics) lacked in sophistication. By the turn of the decade, though, rock and roll had petered out. The Pelvis had been through the Army and come out scrubbed and subdued. Berry was in jail on a statutory rape rap. Lewis had married his cousin and been flayed by public opinion. Little Richard had decided to become a preacher. Holly and too many others were dead. It was jerk music time again, time for Fabian and Paul Anka, Paul of Paul and Paula warbling "I've waited so long for school to be through/Paula I can't wait no more for you," hot rod music, surfing music, the Ventures, and only an occasional cut by Lonnie Mack or Solomon Burke to relieve the awfulness.

And then, hurrah-huzzah, 1964, the Beatles came across the Great Water to revitalize rock and roll, to remind us of what we'd forgotten. In their wake came the Rolling Stones, the Animals, Bob Dylan, the Byrds, the Lovin' Spoonful, the Who, the Yardbirds, Cream, Buffalo Springfield, the Jimi Hendrix Experience, singers, musicians and composers in incredible variety and profusion. Fun while it lasted. Got us through the decade, didn't it?

But the Beatles broke up, the Animals and the Spoonful lost their way, Cream and Springfield and Yardbirds and Byrds split into soloists and new groups and still newer groups. Dylan became the Thomas Pynchon, or at least the J.D. Salinger, of rock, hiding out on his mountain top. Hendrix and Brian Jones of the Stones and others went the way of Buddy Holly. It became jerk music time once again. John Denver, Leon Russell, a lot of dull, loud bands like Three Dog Night and Grand Funk. I shrugged philosophically and decided to wait until Someone came along, Someone who would do for the '70s what Elvis and the Beatles had done before. Glitter rock. Olivia Newton-John. Paul Anka again, burbling out "Having My Baby." Disco pop.

I've been waiting for more than half of the decade now, and, frankly, I've begun to lose heart. Elton John and Led Zeppelin have been only intermittently diverting ("Rocketman" and "Stairway to Heaven," respectively). Carly Simon, James Taylor, Bonnie Raitt, Jimmy Buffett and certain others have been entertaining. But. . . *Where are the innovators?*

Why is it that the most interesting, the most vital performers around today are holdovers (one might even say relics) from the music scene of the '60s?

What goes around is supposed to *come* around, damn it!

I am not about to suggest that Tom Waits is the Someone for whom I've waited, lo, these many years past. For one thing, he isn't. For another thing, even if he was, he probably wouldn't accept the honor.

Tom Waits is not a rocker, not a picker or a balladeer. He is a pedestrian pianist and anything but a flash on guitar. He comes to us out of Miles Davis, Charlie Parker, Ray Charles, Lenny Bruce, and Jack Kerouac. He comes to us as though sprung from the forehead of Zeus, full-blown and secure in what he is doing and yet amid the absolute modicum of hype (thereby avoiding the fate that befell David Bowie, Bruce Springsteen, etc.: that of not living up to promoters' flack). Waits may luck out and have a million-selling long-playing album, though this isn't too likely. He will never reach Top 40 radio charts. He may turn up on "NBC Saturday Night" but never as a guest of Sonny and Cher. He is a night-club performer, and he doesn't particularly enjoy concert tours.

> "He can sing blues as well as Dylan or Mick Jagger or Eric Burdon ever could."

Dressed in a rumpled suit, Waits scuffs on to a stage to do a warm-up for the headlined rock band. He looks out of place in an auditorium. His shirt and tie are loosened at the throat, his cap is pulled down low over his eyes. He chain-smokes. Only twenty-seven at this writing, he nevertheless gives the impression of an older man, one who is crowding thirty-five. This is not altogether affectation: Waits has been around, an itinerant since age seventeen. He snaps his fingers

(Continued on page 19)

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DEFENDING THE UNDEFENDABLE

The Pimp, Prostitute, Scab, Slumlord, Libeler, Moneylender, and Other Scapegoats in the Rogue's Gallery of American Society

by Walter Block
Foreword by Murray N. Rothbard
Illustrations by Rodrigues

Dr. Block's list of "undefendables" reads like a rogue's gallery—from the blackmailer to the drug pusher, the moneylender to the prostitute, the employer of child labor to the strip miner—all the object of universal revulsion. They are accused of perpetuating evils, but are really scapegoated by the very people who try to suppress them.

Many of these extreme case studies of the reviled and scorned in our society have considerable shock value. The author fearlessly and with trenchant logic demonstrates their considerable economic and social merit, and forces the reader to think and rethink his initial response. The book, with its provocative and genuinely challenging claims, demonstrates that these so-called "scoundrels" never engage in reprehensible acts of initiatory aggression.

Although written in a lively and humorous style, Dr. Block proves the serious political-philosophical point that in a just society **all** deviant but non-aggressive behavior should be permitted.

With a commentary by

F.A. von Hayek, Nobel Laureate

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Startling and illuminating! Block's lucid defenses often convince; sometimes they lead us to sharpen our attack. In either case, the reader cannot fail to be instructed and challenged by this mind-stretching, provocative, and occasionally infuriating book.

Robert Nozick, Department of Philosophy, Harvard University

Many years ago Hazlitt's little masterpiece, ECONOMICS IN ONE LESSON, demonstrated how, in order to measure the consequences of economic activities, one must look beyond their immediately obvious effects to their secondary effects. Here, Professor Block sets out highly specific, and sometimes shocking examples of Hazlitt's thesis. By concentrating on the positive economic contributions of extreme cases, he forces the reader's consideration and greater appreciation of the principles of ECONOMICS IN ONE LESSON.

Robert D. Kephart, Publisher, LIBERTARIAN REVIEW

This witty and wonderful book is a veritable manual of the "joy of freedom." If men and women were now only half as interested in liberty as they are in lust, we would not have half the problems we have, and could cope with the rest with candor and courage.

Dr. Thomas S. Szasz, Department of Psychiatry, State University Hospital, Syracuse, N.Y.

The most entertaining and one of the most instructive economics books I've read. Block's unique style helps you see what's going on around you quickly and clearly. I think the book is terrific. Taking the most extreme examples possible and clarifying them, will do more to bend the reader's economic thinking than a slow steady course in good economics might do.

Harry Browne, author of HOW YOU CAN PROFIT FROM THE COMING DEVALUATION

. . . We can heartily congratulate Dr. Block on bringing to our attention some highly challenging, provocative, iconoclastic, and courageous interpretations.

Dr. Albert Ellis, Executive Director, Institute for Advance Study in Rational Psychotherapy

It is a magnificent book, a trail-blazer. I would call it "Drano for Clogged Minds," including my own, except that Drano is neither amusing nor stimulating, and this book is both. I suggest buying two copies: one for yourself and one for the person you want most to catch up with you.

Roger Lea MacBride

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Formation of the State

By Lawrence Krader

Central to the growth and development of libertarian political philosophy is the theory of how states come to exist. The most relevant input to such theory thus far has been the classic Gumplowicz-Oppenheimer thesis (See Franz Oppenheimer's *The State*, reviewed by Murray Rothbard in *LR*, 9/75.)

This thesis rejects previous concepts of state formation based on voluntary agreement or social contract. Instead, the origin of the state is seen to lie in conquest and aggression.

> "The state is merely a political institution. People invented it. There is nothing sacred or inevitable about its existence."

As crucially important and radically significant as this insight is, however, certain technical problems arose regarding the applicability of the thesis to certain historical societies. Increasing amounts of ethnological data seemed to have generated anomalies to the Oppenheimer paradigm.

But even newer research by anthropologist Robert Carneiro only served to revalidate the essential truth of the state's aggressive origins. While warfare is a necessary condition for the rise of states, Carneiro proposed that it is not a sufficient one. This led to his own "circumscription" theory to explain the particular conditions under which warfare functioned as a state-creating mechanism. The result is a neo-coercive theory that integrates the Oppenhiemer anomalies.

Valuable though it is, Carneiro's work (*A Theory of the Origin of the State*) is all too short and narrow in its focus. Lawrence Krader's *Formation of the State* gives both depth and width to the field. He studies state formation in a number of settings and presents empirical evidence from a choice spectrum of cultures in time and place.

Starting with an anthropological theory of the state that considers the historical function of societies without states, Krader draws the following state typology: (1) simple societies without a state (Eskimos, Bushmen, Pygmies), (2) stateless societies with institutions leading to the state (the Kpelle of Liberia, and the Shilluk of the Sudan), (3) the emergent state (Ankole in East Africa, typically arising through conquest), and (4) the state proper (ancient Egypt, medieval Russia, and the Mongol Empire).

Krader readily dismisses such fallacies as Maritain's conception of the state as metaphysical abstraction, the organic interpretations of August Schaeffle and Herbert Spencer, the collective-will fantasies of J. Bluntschli, Hobbes' state-society synthesis, Mussolini's corporative state of superpersonal group-persons, Machiavellism, and Hans Kelsen's "state as community" idea. There's a pointed discussion of the grossly indiscriminate way such ideas assume the wholeness of human action grouped in terms such as "people" or "nation"—implicitly affirming the concepts of both methodological and substantive individualism.

In opposition to such dead-ends, Krader's own analysis is much more realistic. The state is merely a political institution. People invented it. There is nothing sacred or inevitable about its existence. Societies can be—and have been—ordered and structured by means other than the state.

Krader has one terminological quirk that may seem confusing at first glance. He maintains that although there have been stateless societies, there can not be governmentless ones. The problem is that he uses the term government too broadly. Too much stretching is needed to have the one concept cover such diversities as, say, the ordering devices of the Ibos and the Pakhtun on the one hand, and the American or Soviet systems on the other. The integration of such diverse entities would require—at the very least—some type of symbolic differentiation such a G_O for the first two elements of the above set and G_X for the second pair.

More important, however, is the necessity to differentiate conceptually between the true governments of the later and the order-structures (religious, clannish, economic, or whatever) of the former. I assume that if he were presented with a model for a free-market anarchist society, Krader would view it as just another (though possibly unique and exotic) kind of "government." Such classifications are too all-inclusive to function effectively.

> "Societies can be—and have been— ordered and structured by means other than the state"

Otherwise there's much of value in *Formation of the State.* Krader has no particular love or respect for the state (or for what is in actuality government as well). He views the whole subject cooly, dispassionately, and objectively. The result is another important step in the necessary demystification of the state—which is preliminary to its dismantlement. **Reviewed by William Danks / Prentice-Hall, 1968, out of print / $2.40**

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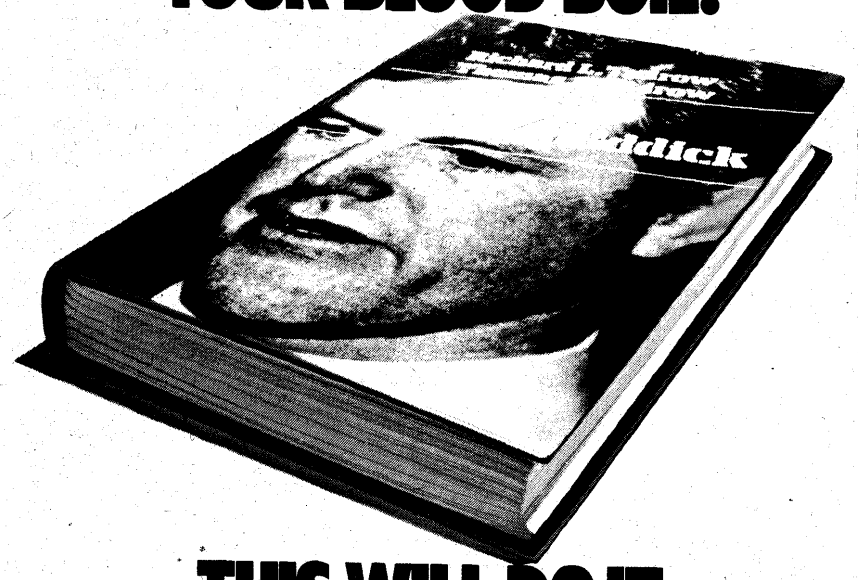

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Brudnoy—*(Continued from page 10)*

to be an imaginative series of variations on a theme of gore.

We have in this movie the cleverest smashing of all sorts of western cliches: a young (and handsome) horse thief gets his, at the end of a rope, accompanied to his hanging place by a rich rancher with whom he discusses the latter's really nifty collection of books; a brothel run by emaciated crones, all looking like that licentious biddy in *Playboy* cartoons; and on through and through the movie. We have lovely landscapes, some moments of wry comedy, some casually discarded lines that come back to give one a second giggle (like the one tossed off by a horse thief tromping up to Canada to steal the Mounties' mounts, mumbling about "why'd they have to put Canada way up there?!"); we have Nicholson, who is fabulous. And we have Brando. O Marlon, what a crock!

Marlon Brando comes on looking like Annie Oakley and sounding like Paddy O'Google of County O'Korney. Marlon Brando squirms and whistles and hums, he sings, he chortles, he mumbles—he has the patent on mumbling, as Rod Steiger has the patent on breathing huskily—he rolls his eyes and jiggles his Santa tummy, he runs around in drag, he shakes his fringey buckskin like a Bar Mitzvah boy fingering his prayer shawl fringes before the Big Moment, he never lets up. He acts up, he thumbs his nose at the whole endeavor, not because it's rotten—it isn't when he's not in it—but because (because?) he's gone somehow, sometime around the period of *Godfather,* or *Last Tango in Paris,* from crown prince to clown poseur, and he wrecks everything he touches, wrecks everything he touches firmly, finally, foully.

Brando doesn't care about film acting any more; he says as much when, on rare occasion, he can be collared for an interview. More power to him in his fabulous escape to his island some miles north of Tahiti, and may he enjoy doing his time as big white brother of his red brothers and sisters. But then he pops into a movie at a million and a half bucks for a few weeks' "work" and sets out to louse up the character director Arthur Penn and screenwriter Thomas McGuane concocted, frustrated that Penn wouldn't let him do with his character of Robert E. Lee Clayton what he felt in his bounteous heart he should do with it ("I wanted this character to be different, a serious study of the American Indian"), so frustrated that he just took the money and ran, leaving behind a devastated hulk, a movie brimming with possibilities, occasionally soaring, occasionally beautiful, and torn to bits almost every moment Marlon Brando condescended to step into it. His is a movie career in shreds; he is a huge talent left for the vultures, a master actor gone loopy. O Marlon, we used to love you, and you, us; what the devil went wrong? ■

> "O Marlon, we used to love you, and you us; what the devil went wrong?"

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Flynn/Twight/Graham—*(Continued from page 1)*

The combined analysis of these books of Twight and Graham gives the reader a much better than usual understanding of the developing nature of the American System. There is, however, a grave flaw of omission in this analysis, an omission that is particularly pronounced in Twight's book and present to a lesser degree in Graham's.

In Twight's book there is inexplicably not one mention of the Pentagon, of the WIB, of the OPA, of military expenditures and contracts, or of national security management. Although there is historical recognition of the military's existence and role in Graham's book, he emphasizes the importance of militarism's role in leading us to the fascist-planned economy little more than does Twight. It is as though the work of Melman, Weinstein, Neiberg, Barnett, Beard, Dennis, Nisbet, O'Connor, and dozens of others had never been published. One begins to wonder if the authors are not consciously or unconsciously attempting to create an historical vacuum so that the untidy reality of war preparations and militarism does not complicate the theses of their respective studies.

What the Twight-Graham complementary analysis needs is a large, healthy dose of John T. Flynn's profound insights concerning the ubiquitous and distroying role of war, war preparations, and militarism in general, for it is militarism that cements the ties between business and government. It is militarism that places increasing power in the hands of the government to better control the economy. It is militarism that can most easily be used as a cover to create and maintain government jobs. It is militarism that can, with most political acceptability, be used for purposes of Keynesian pump-priming. It is militarism that permits the State to become, in Twight's words, a full-fledged "market surrogate." It is militarism whose shroud of secrecy creates widespread suspicion and a rampant Garrison State mentality. It is, in short, militarism that has been the chief propellant thrusting the United States economy into the planned society, into the throes of the fascist quagmire.

Justice can hardly be done to Flynn's masterpiece in a review. One must read and savor for oneself the brilliance of analysis and of prophecy found in the pages of *As We Go Marching*. I am convinced that the Flynn book is one of the few truly great works of socioeconomic analysis written in this century. I would go so far as to contend that if one has not read and digested the analysis and prophecy contained in this book, it is highly unlikely that one would have much understanding of the essential nature of the American System.

We are fortunate that *As We Go Marching* has recently been republished as an inexpensive paperback. I urge you to buy a copy and to immerse yourself in it. Study it along with the Twight and the Graham, and you are sure to develop a far better understanding of the increasingly controlled world in which we are forced to live. Only with such understanding will we ever be able to figure out what to do in order to change the system. **Reviewed by Walter E. Grinder / *Marching* / Free Life Editions, 1973 / $3.45 / *Planned Society* / Oxford University Press, 1975 / $11.95 / *Fascist Economy* / Arlington House, 1975 / $12.95**

Stine—*(Continued from page 3)*

These are quibbles. If we do break free of Earth and take our rightful places as inhabitants of the Solar System, G. Harry Stine will deserve a place in that achievement's history. He shows us it *can* be done. Out there it's raining soup, and Stine is telling us to grab a bowl.

Any reviewer can thin of ways a book ought to be "improved": that is, made more conformable to the reviewer's prejudices. So what? I recommend this book, and I'll put my quibbles in a private letter to the author. For the sake of us all I hope *The Third Industrial Revolution* will have the influence it deserves.

Read it. You'll be glad you did. **Reviewed by Jerry Pournelle / Putnam's, 1975 / $7.95**

The Healing Factor: Vitamin C Against Disease

HEALTH

By Irwin Stone

Irwin Stone is a biochemist, now retired, who developed a great interest in vitamin C soon after it had been identified as the substance L-ascorbic acid, a derivative of the sugar glucose, in 1932. Over a period of 40 years he collected information about vitamin C from the scientific and medical literature, and also carried out some investigations in his own laboratory. In 1949 the British biochemist G.H. Bourne, who is now director of the Yerkes Primate Laboratory in Florida, pointed out that the gorilla gets in its vegetarian diet about four and a half grams of vitamin C each day, which is 100 times the amount that most people get in their food and 100 times the amount (45 mg per day) recommended by the Food and Nutrition Board of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences National Research Council. He suggested that the optimum intake of vitamin C, the amount that puts people in the best of health, might well be much larger than the recommended amount, perhaps one or two grams per day. Stone formulated some additional arguments; for example, he pointed out that most animals manufacture vitamin C in amounts (converted to the body weight of an adult human) between two and 19 grams per day. From these arguments and from published accounts of the value of vitamin C in controlling various diseases, he reached the conclusion that most people are in needlessly poor health because of their low intake of vitamin C. He described them as suffering from the disease hypoascorbemis, a deficiency of ascorbic acid in the blood, and recommended a regular intake of about three grams per day, to be increased at the first sign of illness, such as the onset of a cold.

He sent me copies of the four papers on this subject that he had published in the years 1965 to 1967 and urged me to study the effect on health of an increased intake of this vitamin. My discussions with physicians and nutritionists led me to believe that they had for the most part formed a negative opinion about the value of vitamin C because of lack of knowledge of the facts. I accordingly in 1970 wrote my book *Vitamin C and the Common Cold*, in which the evidence that vitamin C provides a valuable amount of protection against the common cold is discussed.

In his book Irwin Stone presents his arguments for a high intake of vitamin C. He discusses the evidence, as reported in about 700 scientific and medical papers to which references are given, that an increased intake of vitamin C has value in preventing and treating not only the common cold but also other viral diseases, bacterial diseases, cardiovascular diseases, arthritis, allergies and asthma, ulcers, diabetes and hypoglycemia, mental disease, and cancer, in addition to its recognized uses in aiding the healing of burns, wounds, and fractured bones, and in helping to remove toxic substances from the body. Many of the studies are old, dating back 30 or 40 years, and some have been criticized as not having been well designed and executed. Nevertheless, the weight of the evidence as presented by Stone strongly supports the conclusion that a high intake of vitamin C improves health and increases resistance to disease, probably by strengthening the natural mechanisms of protection, such as the immune mechanism. Investigations carried out since the publication of the book support this conclusion. These include a number of studies of vitamin C and the common cold, a study by Murata and Morishige in Japan showing that an intake of two grams or more per day prevents serum hepatitis in surgical patients who receive blood transfusions, and a study by Ewan Cameron of Vale of Leven Hospital, Alexandria, Scotland, on the value of a high intake (10 grams or more per day) of vitamin C for cancer patients.

> "Irwin Stone deserves our thanks."

Irwin Stone deserves our thanks. His work, including writing this book, may well result in significant improvement in health and decrease in the amount of suffering caused by disease for many people. **Reviewed by Linus Pauling / Grosset and Dunlap, 1972 / $1.95, pb; $6.95, hc**

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Instead of Education
By John Holt

" 'Doing' as opposed to 'education,' or meaningful work *versus* learning under pressure, is what this people-oriented book is all about. If you describe to Holt's definition, e.g., education is 'something that some people do to others for their own good,' then his position that the educational establishment deprives us of 'the right to decide for ourselves how we will explore the world around us' makes great good sense. The failure of compulsory education is a dismal reality; efforts at reform are a waste of energy. . . . the author of *Why Children Fail* . . . calls for schools for 'do-ers,' which might use such resources as the *Whole Earth Catalog* or the Frog Pond in Boston Common; he praises a Danish school and urges parents to beat the school game. Lucid and provocative." *–Publishers Weekly* / **Education / Dutton, 1976 / $8.95**

A New Guide to Rational Living
By Albert Ellis & Robert A. Harper

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The Love of Liberty
By Leonard Read

"Musicians are malicious. They tell such stories on each other! One says, 'Isn't Vivaldi marvelous? He wrote sixty violin concertos.' The other says: 'Nothing of the sort. All he did was write one violin concerto sixty times.' Leonard Read's twentieth book of essays on liberty reminds one of that barb, but points up the difference between music and the discourse of reason. A melody need be written only once and can be played forever. But the nuance of liberty must be balanced anew each day in relation to forces that would destroy it. Too much government. Too little understanding. oo much greed. Too little self-reliance. Too much politics. Too little self-discipline. Leonard Read patiently rewords his arguments once a year to fit the problems of the moment, arguing anew, unlike Vivaldi, but singing always the pure unchanging melody of human freedom . . . ."–*Financial Book Digest* / **Political Philosophy / Foundation for Economic Education, 1975 / No price given**

Synergetics
By R. Buckminster Fuller with E.J. Applewhite

"This book is [Fuller's] bible–the distilled wisdom of a lifetime spent contemplating the Universe from angles and directions never before suspected. . . . Its wealth of closely packed ideas is inexhaustible. It will be a source of endless inspiration and stimulus to those engaged in the most urgent task of our time–the effort to save Spaceship Earth from disaster,"–Arthur C. Clarke in *Book Letter* / **Survival / Macmillan, 1975 / $25**

Utley–*(Continued from page 15)*

and delivers cadenced stream-of-consciousness monologs, scat and talking blues. Most of the people in the audience don't know how to react, what to make of him. He will never revolutionize pop music.

I have seen Waits in concert and listened to his two albums on the Asylum label, *The Heart of Satuday Night* (7E-1015) and the two-record "live" set, *Nighthawks at the Diner* (7E-2008). His voice, a growly rasp, is in keeping with his appearance and his material. He can sing blues as well as Dylan or Mick Jagger or Eric Burdon ever could. He is also capable of singing with a sort of weary two A.M. poignancy, as on "San Diego Serenade" and "(Looking for) The Heart of Saturday Night." The world he inhabits and from which he addresses us is a sunless one, an insomniac's realm of all-night diners, rainy streets, and "bastard amber Velveeta yellow" taxi cabs, where the atmosphere is 40 percent cigarette smoke. It isn't an unrelievedly desperate place: Waits has a keen sense of humor, an eye and ear for startling but effective imagery–"the sky turned the color of Pepto Bismol." Raymond Chandler would have loved it.

Tom Waits will not revolutionize pop music. Rock and roll is of no concern to him, except, perhaps, as background noise coming out of a radio in some seedy diner. His antecedents are jazz and Beat literature. He will not steal any listeners away from Kiss or Bob Marley and the Wailers, whoever this week's most-talked-about star may be. He will go his own way, touring when he needs the money, retreating to his night clubs when he can. The best I can do, while waiting, perennially hopeful, for what has gone around to come around again, is to catch him whenever, wherever possible.■

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Gold is going to $400 an ounce just as sure as I'm human says editor Richard Suter. Knowing this, should you now buy gold coins, gold bullion or gold future contracts? In **NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER** editor Suter tells you which and when! This report gives important technical information which will permit you to earn, what we believe to be, maximum profits in 1976. **NATIONAL HARD ASSET REPORTER** advised subscribers as early as October, 1974 that the price of gold would drop spectacularly during 1975. All during 1975 editor Suter advised readers to short gold, making subscribers almost 100% profit a month!

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Libertarian Cross Currents

By Walter E. Grinder

•The **Center for Libertarian Studies** (200 West 58th Street, Suite 5D, New York City, NY 10019) has been formed to serve as a permanent center for scholarly communication among libertarians, both academic and nonacademic. The Center will continue to sponsor the annual Libertarian Scholars Conference and other conferences, seminars, and courses. The new *Journal of Libertarian Studies* will be published quarterly by the Center in cooperation with a major journal-publishing house. The *JLS* will be edited by **Murray N. Rothbard**, aided by an editorial board of 30 top libertarian scholars. The Center's *Newsletter* will be published twice annually to further facilitate communication among libertarians. A Center Fellows Program is being inaugurated to enable students of liberty to come to the New York City area to study with the area's many resident scholars. The Center's resources and attention will be divided among the aforementioned activities, which focus on developing and extending the frontiers of libertarian theory and scholarship, and on developing a Campus Services Program, which will aim to proliferate these scholarly insights on college and university campuses.

In many ways, the most important function of the Center will be to serve as a source of intellectual sustenance to the growing numbers of scholarly libertarians scattered throughout the country. The Center's founders and organizers are confident that with the help of its public financial supporters (*you*) the Center can be very instrumental in turning this country's intellectual focus toward a scholarship of individualism, liberty, peace, and the free market.

The launching of CLS—of which I am the executive director—is the culmination of a two-decade-long personal dream for me, and I promise that all involved will work as hard as we can to make the Center for Libertarian Studies a leading intellectual institution and an effective vehicle for ideological change. However, even though the Center has been able to assemble one of the most prestigious intellectual groupings ever put together by libertarians, the one thing it does not have is enough funds to actively develop all of the projects we feel must be developed to ensure a balanced, effective, and active scholarly program.

This is where *you* come in. The CLS cannot help you promote libertarian scholarship unless you help it. The Center needs not only your moral support but also your *financial* support. You can become a Friend of the Center by making a $100 *tax-deductible* "investment in freedom." The more Friends CLS has, the more work our personnel can do for liberty and for you. Won't you help CLS help you?

•**Felix G. Rohatyn** is rapidly becoming one of the most sought-after minds in the country for his ability to fuse business and government operations. A very good profile is to be found in "The Wizard of Lazard," New York Times Magazine, 21 March 1976.

•**Gerald R. Rosen**'s "A Plan for the U.S. Economy?" (*Dun's Review*, March 1976) is a good overview of the planning debate from one who apparently favors planning and sees it as almost inevitable.

•I know of no one who does not concede that there remain a number of unexplained and very peculiar circumstances surrounding the various assassinations and assassination attempts in the U.S. beginning with the death of John F. Kennedy right down to the present. These numerous questions have become all the more relevant since the recent revelations concerning the connections between the CIA and organized crime and their combined machinations. It is very difficult to separate the facts from the fiction and rhetoric, but four recent books help: *They've Killed the President,* Robert Sam Anson (Bantam, 1975), *The Assassinations: Dallas, and Beyond,* ed. by Scott, Hoch, and Stetler (Vintage, 1976), *Accessories After the Fact: The Warren Commission, the Authorities, and the Report,* Sylvia Meagher (Vintage, 1976), and *Government by Gunplay,* ed. by Blumenthal and Yazijian (Signet, 1976).

•The recent attacks on Big Government are meeting a growing counterattack. **Henry Fairlie**'s "In Defense of Big Government" (*New Republic,* 13 March 1976) is a case in point. As Fairlie sees it, "strong and efficient central government is the foundation of 20th century democracy." He is obviously correct, but then just what has been so great about twentieth century democracy? Is not twentieth century democracy closer to economic and political fascism than it is the free society? Another pro-Big Government analysis is put forth by Harvard professor **George C. Lodge.** His book *The New American Ideology* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1975) contains an explicit call to follow the pattern of Japanese political-economy—a fusion of state and business. It has struck a responsive chord among a significant sector of American businessmen and intellectuals. (See Victor Lebor's review in *The Nation,* 6 March 1976.)

•For an excellent article by a fine young libertarian historian about the shifting and interesting career of conservative-libertarian John Chamberlain, see "The

AN AFTERWORD FROM Readers, Authors, Reviewers

Music to Our Ears

Congratulations on the new format for *Libertarian Review.* I think your approach is very well conceived and *LR* now stands poised to become a journal of major national significance.

EDWARD H. CRANE III
National Chairman, Libertarian Party
Washington, D.C.

Having followed *LR* from before its inception, I offer my heartiest congrats on your new expanded format! I have been involved in libertarianism from the time when most of the literature was xeroxed (And a *book* about libertarianism? Maybe in ten years. . . !). I am greatly impressed by the sophistication, the diversity, and the professionalism of your publication. These are virtues I see as crucial to any libertarian publication which expects to have any impact, so keep up the good work!

STEVE WHITE
La Jolla, Calif.

I think this issue [March-April '76] marks the emergence of *Libertarian Review* as a publication of solid stature rather than a newsletter.

Enclosed is my check for a subscription. I don't know whether this extends or renews my subscription, but congratulations are certainly in order and I am delighted with what you are accomplishing.

ROBERT LEFEVRE
Orange, Calif.

Found the new issue of *Libertarian Review* in its novel format on my desk on return from a two-week campaign trip. Congratulations! A greatly improved format, and in a much more readable layout. That's a giant step forward.

ROGER LEA MACBRIDE
Charlottesville, Va.

I think the new format of *Libertarian Review* is attractive, readable, and professional.

LEE EDWARDS
Washington, D.C.

Rothbard's Secret Wish—Revealed!

Congratulations on the beautiful new format for *LR!* I have just one correction to make on Ralph Raico's splendiferous tribute [*LR,* March-Arpil '76]: I am *not* proud of looking down-at-the-heels. On the contrary, I have always wanted to have the income and the life style of a Rockefeller and the looks of a Ronald Colman. I just never made it.

MURRAY N. ROTHBARD
New York, N.Y.

"Oh Lord!" Mr. R

I have read with reservations but with good will Mr. Riggenbach's first two essays on imaginative literature, but I cannot, oh Lord!, hold my tongue after reading installment three [*LR,* Dec. '75].

If Mr. Riggenbach regards *Gulliver's Travels* as a novel, then he should give some thought to Mrs. Behn's *Oronooko,* which is moderately contemporary and, as the first creative artistic antislavery document, surely has some claim to recognition in a historical evaluation of imaginative literature. Mrs. Behn's work is worth reevaluating, anyway.

I hope Mr. Riggenbach will give Conrad's novels another try. He will find in them imaginative recognition of futility and refusal to be defeated by this recognition.

Mr. Riggenbach included Woolf's *Orlando* but did not mention *To the Lighthouse,* that celebration of the imagination as the light and salvation of the concrete, or *Mrs. Dalloway,* which embraces the same theme only slightly less jubilantly.

What troubles me most is that Mr. Riggenbach resists the glories of Jane Austen. Bless his heart, maybe his problem is youth, which won't trouble him long. Give Miss Austen another chance, Mr. R. And another, if it is needed, and another. She will captivate you.

S. ANDERS
Winston-Salem, N.C.

"Unreadable"?

Letters to the editor usually take objection to something or other, and this is what I want to do now. I realize that Susanne Langer's *Feeling and Form* still appeals considerably to nonaestheticians, but as the very numerous reviews of her books have made clear, the central theses of her aesthetics are built upon vaguenesses, equivocations, outright fallacies, and generalizations from a few cases to a whole class. That one can get some feeling for works of art from her work cannot be denied, but that her work contains a clear and coherent aesthetic theory can hardly be asserted any longer in view of the volley of unanswered criticisms of her theory. The central term, "presentational symbol," for example, contains a nest of fallacies. See, for example, Morris Weitz' devastating review of *Feeling and Form,* "Symbolism in Art," in the *Review of Metaphysics,* VII, pp. 466-81; Ernest Nagel's review of *Philosophy in a New Key, Journal of Philosophy,* XL, 323-29; and C.L. Stevenson's critique of the whole position in "Symbolism in the Non-representational Arts," in my aesthetic anthology, *Introductory Readings in Aesthetics* (New York, Free Press, 1969). (See also my own essay, "The Concept of Artistic Expression," in the same volume.)

I doubt very much, however, that my disagreement with Riggenbach's account of great novels is the result of our disagreements on aesthetic theory. Not having the space to dwell on the reasons, I shall make a few brief points. Riggenbach omits entirely the one novel which historians of fiction consider the finest and most well-wrought novel of the English language, Henry Fielding's 18th-century classic *Tom Jones*—a masterpiece of style and plotting and characterization, not to mention a sense of humor that won't quit, and makes the rereading of the novel endlessly enjoyable. As for the 19th century, the Victorian era produced at least four first-rate novelists: Dickens, Thackeray, Trollope, and George Eliot. Though I do not go so far as F.R. Leavis in saying, "What need have we of Shakespeare when we have George Eliot's *Middlemarch?*" I would place this novel second only to *Tom Jones* among the great novels in the English language; contemporary novelists who pride themselves on subtle characterization and plot-construction could well use her work as a model. The only 19th century novelists who clearly excel her (and this in their breadth of scope rather than in their style or characterization) are three who did not write in English: Balzac, Tolstoy, and Dostoyevsky.

Coming closer to the turn of the century, there are at least two giants of English fiction, Joseph Conrad and Thomas Hardy. That Riggenbach should describe these (along with Jane Austen) as "unreadable" or "too uninteresting to finish" is almost too astounding to comprehend. Conrad is probably the greatest prose master of English style of the last hundred years (with the possible exception of

Letters from readers are welcome. Although only a selection can be published and none can be individually acknowledged, each will receive editorial consideration and may be passed on to reviewers and authors. Letters submitted for publication should be brief, typed, double spaced, and sent to LR, *901 N. Washington St., Alexandria, VA 22314.*

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Political Thought of John Chamberlain: Continuity and Conversion," *South Atlantic Quarterly,* Vol. 74 (Winter 1975), pp. 53-73.

• It was great to see Libertarian Party theoretician **Bill Evers'** full-fledged assault on superhawk **James Schlesinger.** Schlesinger is undoubedtly one of the most dangerous enemies of libertarian ideals in the country. See "Schlesinger: Spokesman of Interventionism," *LP News,* January-February 1976 (1516 P St., NW, Washington, DC 20005; subscriptions are $3 for six issues, $5 for 12 issues).

• *The Abolitionist* is the newsletter of the **American Association for the Abolition of Involuntary Mental Hospitalization,** Inc. This appears to be a very worthy group. In the March *Abolitionist,* Lynne Henderson points out the psychiatric powers hidden in the infamous Criminal Justice Reform Act of 1975 (s.1). For more information write AAAIMH, Inc., c/o PO University of Santa Clara, CA 95053.

• For a useful journalistic summary of all sides of the issues involved in the complex Middle East situation, see the March-April issue of *Skeptic,* entitled, "Israel or Oil?"

• For far too many years most libertarian "real world" analysis has been little more than a number of floating abstractions or generalities too broad to really act upon. For action to take place, general principles must be carefully connected in some way to specific issues or classes of issues. A mass movement is never motivated solely by appeals to broad philosophic principles *per se* (even though it is true that narrower groups of morally concerned and intellectually active individuals are so motivated). It is, it seems to me, the duty of libertarian movement intellectuals (and here I use the term intellectual in the Hayekian manner: all those who are familiar with and who deal with ideas on some regular basis) to become "brokers of ideas," carefully connecting principles to issues.

In the past two years, two truly significant sociopolitical documents have moved to fill this void. First was the **Libertarian Party** platform that was adopted at the August 1975 convention. The LP platform is a good solid attempt to move from vague generalities to an application of moral principles to specific socioeconomic problems. The compromises inherent in all collective political documents tend to vitiate the "purity" of the analysis, but one can easily discount the several faults and still appreciate the significance of this important document. Most of the LP's position papers are equally good in relating principle to issue. (For more information write to Libertarian Party, 1516 P Street NW, Washington, DC 20007.)

A more recent and even more significant illustration fo what I mean is the very sophisticated *White Paper on the Massachusetts Libertarian Movement* ($1) prepared by the **Center for the Study of Social Systems** (PO Box 920, Boston, MA 02103). I hope this document will serve as a guide to other studies for other parts of the country. Only when we systematically analyze the problems and issues in the light of our principles, assess our true strength, and then develop ways to allocate our resources accordingly can we hope to move from the role of parlor philosophers to significant agents of social change. This brilliant document surely leads the way.

• The **Minnesota Libertarian Society** (1985 Selby Avenue, Saint Paul, MN 55102) is a loose-knit group of philosophical libertarians formed as a strictly educational group. The Society has published several papers and has cosponsored a forum on "Energy, Economy and the Environment" in conjunction with the **University of Minnesota Libertarian Club.** I hope this group will serve as a model for other groups around the country. We really need off-campus, yet educationally oriented, groups through which nonstudents and nonacademics can gather to discuss libertarian issues and advance the cause of liberty. For more information write to Michael E. Couglin, Secretary, MLS.

• **Libertarian Advocate** (1224 National Press Building, Washington, DC 20045) is a libertarian lobby. Director **Alan W. Bock** plans to actively promote libertarian legislative programs in Congress and in state legislatures, the media, and to the general public. Libertarian Advocate is pushing for the abolition of all regulatory commissions and agencies. It is also lobbying for the abolition of inheritance and gift taxes, but seems only to want to move from a progressive to a flat income tax. For more information write to Alan Bock.

• **John B. Egger,** formerly of the University of Dallas, has just taken a position at Goucher College in the Baltimore area. John is an Austro-libertarian and will be teaching in the Department of Economics.

• **Ralph Raico,** who teaches in the Department of History at SUNY, Buffalo, is one of libertarianism's most perceptive and best writers. See his *Gay Rights: A Libertarian Approach* ($.25) from the Libertarian Party, 1516 P Street, NW, Washington, DC 20005). This is one of the best presentations of individual rights I have ever seen. Another top-notch Raico piece is "Thomas Szasz and the Age of Psychiatrism" (*The Alternative,* May 1976, PO Box 877, Bloomington, IN 47401).

• **New York University's Graduate Department of Ecnomics** has truly become the world's most important center of Austrian economics. Austrian luminaries **Israel M. Kirzner** and **Ludwig M. Lachmann** will be joined in the fall by post-doctoral fellow **Mario Rizzo** (a recent PhD recipient at the University of Chicago, but a staunch Austrian in spite of it). Rizzo will be both teaching and researching. His research project is one that should excite all libertarians: a study of the relation between the development of the common law and the rise of the Hayekian "spontaneous order" market system. In addition to the arrival of Rizzo, at least five new doctoral candidates will be transfering to NYU.

Perhaps the project with the most immediate potential at NYU is the monthly Austrian Economics Seminar (organized and directed by Austro-libertarian **Walter Block** of Rutgers University). The AES is a high-level seminar/workshop devoted to developing new inquiries by Austrian economists. The seminar has been meeting monthly since December 1975. The official members and participants include: **Walter Block, John Egger,** Israel Kirzner, Ludwig Lachmann, **Donald Lavoie,** Mario Rizzo, **Murray Rothbard, Joseph Salerno, Louis Spadaro,** and **Arthur Zabarkas. Roy A. Childs** serves as secretary. The seminar's membership will be expanded to accomodate the incoming NYU Austrian graduate fellows. In addition to papers given by several of AES members, papers have been delivered by two visitors: **Robert Nozick** of Harvard University's Philosophy Department and **Lawrence H. White,** a brilliant undergraduate student at Harvard.■

James Joyce), superb in his insights into human nature, and so powerful in his impact that he leaves one emotionally drained; he is also, without being didactic, a great moralist—would that there were someone of his caliber writing today! Hardy is also a superb atmosphere-builder and novelistic craftsman, and his *Jude the Obscure* and *Return of the Native* in particular are powerful and devastating. If a hitherto unpublished novel of either of them were to be discovered tomorrow, I would drop everything else, no matter how important, and devour it—that's how "unreadable" I find their works.

For prose style there is no contemporary master who seems to me to equal Isac Dinesen. And the greatest master of prose fiction of the twentieth century seems to me to be Stefan Zweig.

JOHN HOSPERS
Los Angeles, Calif.

Riggenbach Replies

First, my assurances to Mr. Anders that I have by no means permanently abandoned Joseph Conrad and Jane Austen. My present enthusiasm for Henry James was once an anitpathy, and James' is not the only such case. Senses of life change; they expand, contract, and on occasion, actually metamorphose into something radically different from their former serlves. My tastes have changed in the past; likely they will change again. But I confess it seems unlikely to me now that I will ever derive pleasure from Conrad's garrulous mutterings about an evil he never specifies (and seems never to have clearly conceived) or Austen's clever, elaborate, mincing studies in boy-meets-girl.

Again, it is possible I shall one day enjoy Henry Fielding, George Eliot, and Thomas Hardy. Dr. Hospers writes so passionaely in their defense I feel already an itch to reopen *Jude the Obscure.* (Hospers is always persuasive in defense of the arts—see his excellent article on "Art, Philosophy Of" in the new edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica,* especially the closing paragraphs.)

But, in the end, what I am writing about in "An Introduction to Imaginative Literature" is not the works I like but the works which I consider artistically excellent. To me, an artistically excellent work is one whose every detail is necessary, in whatever degree, to the meaingfulness—the symbolic clarity—of the whole. A simpler way of saying this is that a novel which could be changed, reduced or expanded in any way without an irrevocable loss of meaing is, to that extent, not a good novel. By this standard of aesthetic value, the novels of Conrad, Austen, Fielding, Eliot and Hardy simply do not qualify for adjectives like "great." If it were purely a matter of aesthetic value (or, for that matter, purely a matter of pleasure), I wouldn't walk across the street to read a newly discovered novel by Joseph Conrad, but I would "drop everything else" in the manner described by Hospers to read a newly published work of any kind by William H. Gass.

And what standard of aesthetic value does Hospers propose? That "historians of fiction" consider a work "well-wrought"? And what works in political philosophy are considered "well-wrought" by "historians of political philosophy"? do "historians of economics" consider *Human Action* as "well-wrought" as *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money?* If anything, professors of English (the principal "historians of fiction" in an era when the literary arts have been virtually taken over by universities) have botched their work even more horribly than professors of philosophy and professors of economics—while a majority of the most acute critics of literature are professors, the nature of the American academic system is such that, across the board, literature is unquestionably the most incompetently taught subject currently offered at universities.

Philosophical aesthetics may not be far behind, though, if Weitz, Stevenson and Nagel are taken in their critiques of Susanne Langer, as representative of academe's best. Weitz declares that "Mrs. Langer's whole theory of non-discursive symbolism seems to be rooted in her picture or mirror theory of language," a statement which, even if it were true (which it isn't) and even if it were proved true (or even argued for) by Weitz (which it isn't) wouldn't preclude the possibility (never entertained by Weitz) of the same theory of non-discursive symbolism being rooted in a *different* thoery of language (the one sketched by Rand in her *Introduction to Objectivisit Epistemology,* for example). Weitz goes on to announce that Langer's conception of music is rooted in a Bergsonian conception of time; and that, he declares, is "no theory at all, but an exercise in bad grammar." What follows, his argument for this view, makes his own general position quite clear: the world is made of words; the work of philosophy is to determine the meaning of words, which is to say, how they're used in different sentences; no enquiry need ever be made into what in reality the words designate. To such a mentality, the work of a Bergson or a Langer—the attempt to achieve the greatest possible clarity and precision in the use of symbols to describe the real world (which is conceived as the proper subject of philosophical thought)—must seem paradoxical and muddled indeed.

Stevenson sets out to show that the *sine qua non* of Langer's approach to aesthetics—the general theory of signs—is unnecessary to deal adequately with the major philosophical problems posed by works of art. He proceeds by sketching a theory in which the general theory of signs is brought back in through the back door (under an assumed name—that of "sense" as it is applied to linguistic structures). His article, thus, stands better as a confirmation of Langer's method than as a critique of it. And while Nagel's remarks on *Philosophy in a New Key* are somewhat more sophisticated than Weitz's and Stevenson's, they have in common a gift for misunderstanding which, at times, seems positively willful. And just why there should be such misunderstanding of Langer is profoundly unclear to me. The distinction between presentational and discursive symbolisms is, on the other hand, quite clear, and I believe it to be presented clearly and unequivocally in Langer's books. A considerably more intelligent and constructuve response to Langer's theory of art may be found in Herbert Read, *The Tenth Muse* (New York, Grove Press, 1957).

And as for Langer's ideas "still appealing considerably to nonaestheticians," it might as easily (and as accurately) be said that Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* still appeals considerably to noneconomists. There is among too many libertarains a ready tendency to question the intellectual establishment only with respect to political and economic issues, as if the same intellectuals who advocate institutionalized theft, slavery, and murder may safely be relied upon to honor the truth about philosophy and art. In fact, they may not be. On the contrary, in my experience, the more valuable an idea is for serious students of a field, the more likely that idea is to be regarded as either "radical" or "discredited" by the intellectual establishment.

JEFF RIGGENBACH
Los Angeles, Calif.

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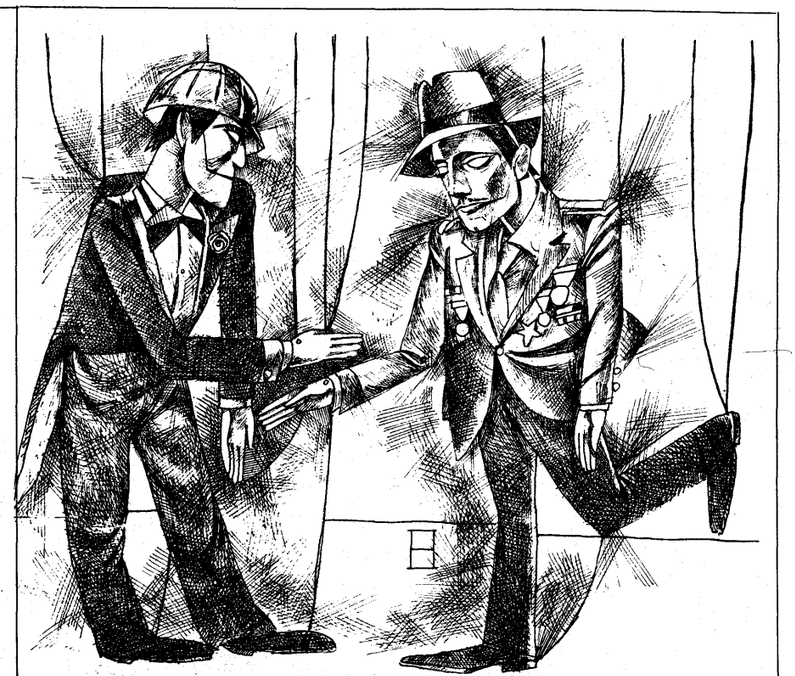

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